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تأليف

الشيخ ابي جعفر محمد بن يعقوب بن اسحاق الكليني الرازي

الجزء الاول

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BY

ASH-SHAYKH ABU JA'FAR MUHAMMAD IBN YA'QŪB IBN ISḤĀQ AL-KULAYNI AR-RĀZI

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This work – as an introduction to *Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd* of *Uṣūl al-Kãfī* under the title: *Imãmī* Kalãm: *Its Origins, Development and Leading Scholars* – has been written and compiled by ash-Shaykh Muḥammad Riḍã al-Ja'farī (may Allãh protect him and grant him good health!); and translated by the late John (Yaḥyã) Cooper, may Allãh have mercy upon him, for the co-operation he has rendered to this sacred cause. Amin! (WOFIS)

In the Name of Allãh
The All-Compassionate, The All-Merciful

Praise belongs to Allãh, the Lord of all Being;
the All-Compassionate, the All-Merciful;
the Master of the Day of Judgement.
Thee only we serve; and to Thee alone we pray
for succour.
Guide us in the straight path,
the path of those whom Thou hast blessed,
not of those against whom Thou art wrathful,
nor of those who are astray.

*   *   *   *   *

O' Allãh! Send your blessings to the head of
your messengers and the last of
your prophets,
Muḥammad and his pure and cleansed progeny.
Also send your blessings to all your
prophets and envoys.

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ
اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ
مَالِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ وَإِيَّاكَ نَسْتَعِينُ
اِهْدِنَا الصِّرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ صِرَاطَ الَّذِينَ
أَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ غَيْرِ الْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ
وَلَا الضَّالِّينَ

اَللّٰهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَىٰ
سَيِّدِ رُسُلِكَ وَخَاتَمِ أَنْبِيَائِكَ
مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ الطَّيِّبِينَ الطَّاهِرِينَ
وَصَلِّ عَلَىٰ جَمِيعِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَالْمُرْسَلِينَ

TRANSLITERATION

Ar. Letters	Transliteration
ء }	'
ا }	a
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
ح	ḥ
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	'
غ	gh
ف	f

Ar. Letters	Transliteration
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
و	w
ه	h
ي	y
ة	ah

Short Vowel

ـَ	a
ـِ (or ـَِ)	i
ـُ	u

Long Vowels

آ	ã
يِ	ī
وُ	ū

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* This page number is the continuation of the previous page from "The Book of Excellence of Knowledge" of *Uṣūl al-Kãfī*. (WOFIS)

Imãmī *Kalãm*: Its Origins, Development, and Leading Scholars

PREFACE

It was our intention when publishing the English translation of the *Uṣūl al-Kãfī* to write an introduction to the *Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd* (The Book of Divine Unity), in which we would study a number of points which would serve as a preliminary study to the *ḥadīth* in the *Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd*. It was intended that this introduction should appear at the beginning of the first fascicule, but a number of factors intervened to prevent its publication until now, when the second and third fascicules of the *Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd* have already been published. Now, praise be to Allãh, and through the success that He has granted, this introduction has been completed and is here presented under the title *Imãmī Kalãm: Its Origins, Development, and Leading Scholars*.

World Organization for Islamic Services,
(Board of Writing, Translation and Publication)

20th Jumãd II, 1428,
5th July 2007,
Tehran – Iran.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose in writing this book is twofold. In the first Part, an examination of Imãmī *kalãm* has been undertaken in order to show that, from its beginnings, it had its own specific character, and that it preserved this charater throughout its contacts with other schools of *kalãm*. In the second Part, short biographies of Imãmī *mutakallim*s are given, so that from studying the titles of *kalãm* works attributed to them it can be seen what this specific charater was, and how it was preserved up to the time of the Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī. Many of the subjects raised in Part One of this book are also mentioned in the introduction to the English translation of *Taṣḥīḥu 'l-I'tiqãd* which is published separately.

World Organization for Islamic Services,
Tehran – Iran.

PART ONE

Imãmī *Kalãm:*
Its Origins and Development

1. Imãmī *Kalãm*: Its Origins and Development.
2. Origins of the Term '*Kalãm*'.
3. The Development of *Kalãm* Among the Imãmiyyah.
4. Summary of the Argument.

IMÃMĪ *KALÃM*:
ITS ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT

Historians of doctrine in Muslim history have been accustomed to divide doctrine – or, more precisely, the way in which doctrine is established – into two kinds: the school of the *aṣḥãbu 'l-ḥadīth* (the Traditionists) and the schools of *kalãm* the particularities of each of which they have described. When it has come to the Imãmīs, it has been customary to extend the same division as has been applied to the non-Imãmīs. In what follows, an attempt has been applied to the non-Imãmīs, and indeed that there was no substantial difference in doctrine between those who relied exclusively on *ḥadīth* and those who used the method of *kalãm*; indeed, individual scholars of the Imãmīs were usually experts in both sciences.

It has also been the custom for non-Imãmīs to assert that the Imãmīs, especially the early Imãmīs, were upholders of belief in corporealism (*tajsīm*), anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*), and compulsion (*jabr*). In the first part, it will be shown that, from the time of the emergence of Imãmī doctrine, the predominant direction of their teaching did not subscribe to these beliefs, although there were a small number who did. But this small number in no warrants the assertion that these beliefs were characteristic of early Imãmī doctrine.

In Part One, the reader will find a short investigation into the origins of the word *'kalãm'*, in which it will be seen that, in its beginnings, this described a phenomenon which was unique to the Muslim environment, and that, consequently, difficulties have been experienced in finding adequate translations for the early usage of the term. In the course of time, *kalãm* came to be used for a specific discipline, which has been more successfully rendered into English variously as 'theology', 'speculative theology', or

'dialectical theology'. The period of the development of this term and practice into a specific discipline is one of the specific areas to which attention has been drawn in this study.

*   *   *   *   *

The generally prevailing picture of the development of *kalãm* among the Imãmī Shī‘ah is that the ideas and opinions, and, to a greater degree, the methodology of *kalãm* was incorporated by them into their doctrine at a somewhat later stage in the historical development of the Imãmīyyah, that is to say from the time of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd onwards, the process coming to a kind of maturity with ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã and ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī. Together with this picture is also found the view that the theological positions of the Imãmīyyah were changed and consolidated by this encounter with *kalãm*.

There is, however, one alternative to this generally accepted picture, one that emerges through an examination of the development of the Imãmī Shī‘ah at a stage prior to that of the period of al-Mufīd. This other picture reveals a body of doctrine largely similar in content to that of the post-Mufīd period, as well as the existence of Imãmī men of learning who were already using argumentation or 'rational' exposition of doctrines as opposed to the mere recitation of Traditions prior to al-Mufīd.

Two trends manifested themselves from an early period: the trend for using *ḥadīth* or verse of the Qur’ãn to answer questions of doctrine, the practitioners of which were called *muḥaddithūn*, those who *yuḥaddithūna 'n-nãs*; and the trend for using argumantation or proof to answer such questions, the practitioners of which were called *mutakallimūn*, those who *yukallimūna 'n-nãs*; i.e., those who spoke, argued, debated with the people. This gives rise to a picture of the origins of the word *kalãm* (dialectical theology), which is at variance with the generally accepted picture, one that traces the origin back to those who discoursed on theological matters with the people, and to the familiar sense of *kallama* and *takallama* as speech and debate among people. There are many references in the sources to the use of *kalãm* in this sense at the beginning of theological discussions among the Imãmiyyah that is before the term *kalãm* comes to denote a specific science or branch of knowledge.

> . . . Abū Khãlid al-Kãbūlī said: "I saw Abū Ja‘far Ṣãḥibu 'ṭ-Ṭãq (§ 121) standing up in the Mosque of the Prophet in Madīnah; the people of Madīnah were crowded round him (lit., they had torn the front of his clothes [through pressure on him]), and he was tirelessly answering them and they were asking him. I went up to him and said: 'Abū ‘Abdillãh has

forbidden us from holding discourse (*kalãm*).' He said: 'Did he command you to tell me?' I said: 'No, by Allãh, but he commanded me not to hold discourse (*lã ukallima*) with anyone.' He said: 'Then go and obey him in what he commanded you.' I went back to Abū ‘Abdillãh, peace be upon him, and informed him of the story about Ṣãḥibu 'ṭ-Ṭãq, about what I had said to him, and his saying to me: 'Go and obey him in what he commanded you.' Abū ‘Abdillãh (peace be upon him) smiled and said: 'O Abū Khãlid, Ṣãḥibu 'ṭ-Ṭãq holds discourse with the people (*yukallimu 'n-nãs*): he soars up and he dives down, but if they clipped your wings you would never [be able to] fly.'" (al-Kishshī, pp.185-6 [no.327])

. . . ‘Abdu 'l-‘Alã’ (the freedman of the Ãl Sãm) said: "I said to Abū ‘Abdillãh (peace be upon him): 'The people blame me for holding discourse (*kalãm*), but I continue to hold discourse with the people.' He said: 'For someone like you who falls and then flies up [again], that is alright, but for someone who falls and cannot fly up [again], then it is not.'" (al-Kishshī, p.319 [no.578])

Elsewhere the Imãm aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon him, says: ". . . I command one group to hold discourse (*yatakallimū*) and I have forbidden [another] group . . ." (al-Kishshī, pp.170 [no.287], 238-9 [no.433]; see also *infra* nos.3, 14, and elsewhere). From these and similar uses of *kalãm* from the same period it would seem clear that the term finds its origin in the meaning of 'speaking to', 'holding discourse', 'engaging in debate'.

* * * * *

It is a feature of many of the *ḥadīth* in the *Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd* of *al-Kãfī*, as well as of those in ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq's *Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd*, that they concern replies which the Imãms, in particular the Imãm aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon him, gave to those described as *zindīq*s. In many cases no names are supplied, the interlocutor being described merely as a *zindīq*, while elsewhere names are supplied. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the meaning and uses of this term; what follows is a list of those who are so described, followed by a more detailed examination of one of these.

a) (‘Abdu 'l-Karīm) ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjã’, see K.T. ["Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd" of *al-Kãfī*], nos.214, 327, and vol.4, pp.197-8; aṣ-Ṣadūq, *at-Tawḥīd*, pp.125-7, 253-4, 296-8.
b) Abū Shãkir ad-Dayṣãnī, see K.T., no.334; aṣ-Ṣadūq, pp.133, 290, 292-3.
c) ‘Abdullãh ad-Dayṣãnī, see K.T., no.217; aṣ-Ṣadūq, pp.122-4. (These two ad-Dayṣãnīs are probably the same person, sometimes referred to by his

better-known *laqab*, sometimes by his name.)

d) ‘Abdullãh ibn al-Muqaffa‘ (106/724–142/759), see K.T., no.214; aṣ-Ṣadūq, p.126. This is the well-known scribe and man of letters to whom is due the origins of the *Kitãbu 'd-Dīwãn*, and whose short life spanned the end of the Umayyad and the beginning of the ‘Abbãsids. He was executed in Baṣrah on accusations of *zindaqah* (see *al-A‘lãm*, 3rd ed., vol.4, pp.273-4; *Mu‘jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.6, p.156; and sources referred to threin). Leaving aside the question of whether or not the accusations of *zindaqah* can be justified, these acusations were certainly no more than a pretext for disposing of him for political reasons.

Here we shall discuss in further detail the first of those named above.

1. ‘Abdu 'l-Karīm ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjã’ (d. 155/772), of the tribe of Dhuhl ibn Shaybãn (Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat Ansãbi 'l-‘Arab*, p.316; Nashwãn al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Ḥuru 'l-‘iyn*, p.193) was the maternal uncle of Ma‘n ibn Zãidah ash-Shaybãnī, the famous Umayyid and ‘Abbãsid commander. Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalãnī says: "Ḥammãd ar-Rãwiyah (95/714–155/772), Ḥammãd ‘Ajrad (d. 161/778), Ḥammãd ibn az-Zibriqãn, ‘Abdu 'l-Karīm ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjã’, Ṣãliḥ ibn ‘Abdi 'l-Quddūs (d. *c.*160/777) [the famous poet and scribe, was accused of *zindaqah* and executed in Baghdãd], ‘Abdullãh ibn al-Muqaffa‘, Muṭi‘ ibn Iyyãs (d. 166/783) [the Kinãnī poet], Yaḥyã ibn Ziyãd al-Ḥãrithī (d. *c.*160/776) [the poet], and ‘Alī ibn al-Khalīl ash-Shaybãnī [the poet] were famous for *zindaqah* and despising the matters of the religion." (*Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.3, p.173). It is to be noted that ‘Abdu 'l-Karīm's nephew Ma‘n ibn Zãidah was also accused of *zindaqah* (*al-Ḥuru 'l-‘iyn*, p.192).

2. Ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjã’ was, in the beginning, a student of al-Ḥasan ibn Abi 'l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, the well-known narrator of *ḥadīth*, *faqīh*, preacher, and ascetic (21/642–110/728), but subsequently abandoned belief in monotheism, as can been seen from the following *ḥadīth*.

". . . ‘Īsã ibn Yūnus said: 'Ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjã’ was a student of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and then abandoned belief in monotheism. He was asked: "Have you abandonned the beliefs of your teacher (*ṣãḥib*) and taken up something which has neither basis nor reality?" He said: "My teacher was a vacillator (*mukhallaṭ*) [in his beliefs] – sometimes he believed in free-will, sometimes in determinism – I never knew him to take up belief in something and to continue to hold it." [Ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjã’] went to Makkah in a contrary state of mind (*mutamarrid*), criticizing those who had gone on *ḥajj*. The learned did not like to sit down with him and answer his questions on account of his uncouth speech and his corrupt intention. Abū ‘Abdillãh, peace be upon him, came, and [Ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjã’] sat down with him along with a group of like-

minded persons [see al-Mufīd, *Kitãbu 'l-Irshãd* (transl. Howard), p.424; they were Ibn Ṭãlūṭ, Ibn al-A'mã and Ibnu 'l-Muqaffa', and (Ibn) an-Nadīm says: "Among their leaders (i.e. the Manicheans) were *mutakallim*s whom observed Islam outwardly but maintained *zindaqah* in their hearts: Ibn Ṭãlūṭ, Abū Shãkir, Abū Shãkir's nephew, Ibn al-A'mã al-Ḥarīzī, Nu'mãn (*sic.* = 'Abdu 'l-Karīm) ibn Abi 'l-'Awjã', Ṣãliḥ ibn 'Abdi 'l-Quddūs, . . ." (*al-Fihrist*, p.401)], and said: "O Abū 'Abdillãh, let [this] gathering be confidential, and anyone who wants to say something (lit., to cough) should do so. Do you permit [us] to talk?'"

". . . [Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjã' asks a question about the *ḥajj*; then from another extract from the same meeting narrated elsewhere by al-Kulaynī, he asks a question about Allãh (see K.T., no.327-8). Then the original *ḥadīth* continues.] "Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjã' became stupified and did not know what to say. He left his presence and said to his companions: 'I asked you to find me some wine, and you threw me on to a burning coal.'

"'Shut up,' they told him: 'you have disgraced us by your bewilderment. We saw no one today more humiliated than you in this discussion.'

"'Are you saying this to me?' he replied. 'He is (only) the son of a man who shaved the heads of those whom you see.' He indicated with his hand towards the people gathered for the pilgrimage." (*al-Kãfī*, "Kitãbu 'l-Ḥajj", part 4, pp.197-8; aṣ-Ṣadūq, *Man lã yaḥḍuruhu 'l-faqīh*, vol.2, pp.162-3; "Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd", p.253-4; *Ilalu 'sh-sharã'i'*, vol.2, pp.89-90; *al-Amãlī* (*al-Majãlis*), pp.616-8; al-Mufīd, *al-Irshãd* (transl. Howard), p.425 (the second half of the above translation is taken from Howard); aṭ-Ṭabrisī, *al-Iḥtijãj*, vol.2, pp.74-75; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.3, pp.33-34; vol.99, pp.28-29).

Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahãnī narrated: "There were in Baṣrah six practitioners of *kalãm*, 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd, Wãṣil ibn 'Aṭã', Bashshãr al-A'mã [Ibn Burd, the famous poet (95/714–167/784), accused of *zindaqah* and beated to death], Ṣãliḥ ibn 'Abdi 'l-Quddūs, 'Abdu 'l-Karīm ibn Abi 'l-'Awjã', and a man of the tribe of Azd – i.e., Jarīr ibn Ḥãzim. There, gathered in the house of the Azdī and argued with one another. At the end 'Amr and Wãṣil went off to become Mu'tazilīs, but 'Abdu 'l-Karīm and Ṣãliḥ took up belief in dualism, while Bashshãr remained confused and a vacillator. As for the Azdī, he turned towards Sumaniyyah (Shamanism or perhaps Buddhism), which was one of the religions of India, but remained externally as he had been.

"'Abdu 'l-Karīm took to corrupting the youth, 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd said: 'I have heard that you take one of our youths aside and corrupt him, make him slip, and introduce him to your religion. Either you leave our town, or I will

set something up for you, which will end your life.' So he went to Kūfah, where Muḥammad ibn Sulaymãn [the governor] was directed to him and killed him and crucified him."

Then Abu 'l-Faraj narrated a poem which Bashshãr [had composed] condemning Ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjã’ accusing him of *zindaqah* and of despising religious obligations. (*al-Aghãnī*, vol.3, pp.146-7; *Mukhtãru 'l-aghãnī*, vol.2, pp.39-40; *Tajrīdu 'l-aghãnī*, vol.1, pt.1, p.374-5; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.4, pp.51-52; the text appears corrupted apart from in *Tajrīdu 'l-aghãnī*.)

As for Azdī, the sixth man, Jarīr ibn Ḥãzim, none of the biographical sources mention anyone of this name apart from a Jarīr ibn Ḥãzim Abu 'n-Naḍr al-Azdī al-Baṣrī (90/709–175/791), the *qãḍī* of Baṣrah, one of the great Traditionalists, one from whom a great number of *ḥadīth* are narrated, and on whose truthfulness there is agreement. The authors of the six Sunnī canonical *ḥadīth* works, as well as others, have all narrated *ḥadīth* from him. al-Bukhãrī narrates from him that he studied with al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī] for eight years (*Tãrīkhu 'l-kabīr*, vol.1, pt.2, p.214). It was also said of him that he was '*ṣãḥibu 's-sunnah*' (i.e., an upholder of the primacy of *ḥadīth*) (*al-‘Ilal*, vol.1, p.246; *al-Ma‘rifah*, vol.2, p.167; *Tahdhību 't-tahdhīb*, vol.2, p.72).

It thus seems that this Jarīr was the companion of Ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjã’ and his other companions, since it is extremely unlikely that two persons from the same period had the same name, the same patronimic and the same *nisbah*, and lived in the same place. This great *muḥaddith* seems therefore to have been secretly as Abu 'l-Faraj narrated; 'but [he] remained externally as he had been', as is reflected in the writings of the scholars of *ḥadīth*, in their trust in him, in their confirmation of his truthfulness, and in their narrating of his *ḥadīth*.

Despite the Janus-like nature of Jarīr – the opposition between what he secretly believed in and what he externally displayed – and his complete disguise so that no unfortunate consequence should befall him, he was, as has been explained, almost uncritically accepted source of *ḥadīth*, and was even described as being one of the *ḥashwiyyah*. al-Ḥãkim ibn al-Bay‘ narrated from Abū Dãwūd, that he used to say: "When Jarīr ibn Ḥãzim would join a session, Shu‘bah [ibn al-Ḥajjãj al-Azdī al-Baṣrī (82/701–160/776), one of the great, trustworthy *muḥaddithūn*] would say [by way of warning]: 'This *ḥashawī* has come to you!'" (*Ma‘rifah*, p.170)

3. One of the most dangerous aspects of Ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjã’'s activities was the encouragement of disbelief and doubt among the youth, which were the most easily persuaded section of the population. This activity was not confined to oral persuasion, but was also propagated through writings.

al-Mas‘ūdī, while describing the times of the ‘Abbãsid Caliph al-Mahdī, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillãh (127/744 – cal. 158/775–169/785) and the period that led up to his caliphate, says, concerning the *zindīq*s: "[al-Mahdī] killed without pity the heretics and those who hypocritically believed in the religion, for it was during his time and his caliphate that heretics appeared and openly manifested their beliefs, after the appearance of the books of Mãnī, Ibn Dayṣãn, and Marcion, translated from Persian and Pahlavi into Arabic by ‘Abdullãh ibn Muqaffa‘, and what was written at that time by Ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjã’, Ḥammãd ‘Ajrad, Yaḥyã ibn Ziyãd [al-Ḥãrithī], and Muṭi‘ ibn Iyyãs, continuators of the Manichean, Daysanite, and Marcionite sects. The heretics grew in number on account of this and spread their beliefs among the people." (*Murūju 'dh-dhahab*, [Paris], vol.8, pp.292-3; *Dhuḥa 'l-Islãm*, vol.1, pp.140-1)

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ORIGINS OF THE TERM *'KALÃM'*

From the earliest times, the most prevalent way of addressing and dealing with religious matters among the Muslims has been to cite verses of the Qur'ãn and *ḥadīth* for, or against, a particular stance, and to leave these citations to speak for themselves. Even in the present day, this is the most commonly used approach to engaging with and solving religious difficulties; it provides the framework, which is most familiar and characteristic of Islamic discourse. However, alongside this, and coming into existence slightly later, even though very early in Islamic history, was the method of debate and discussion which came to be known as *kalãm.* The earliest sources referred to this kind of argumentation using the Arabic verb *takallama*, *takallum* (to speak, to hold discourse), and its derivatives, and from the same verb stern *(k–l–m)* came the word *kalãm* to denote this discursive method. From the abundant evidence for this assertion, it will suffice here to give two examples from non-Shī'ī sources, followed by a selection of references to Shī'ī sources.

1. (a) Ma'bad al-Juhanī al-Baṣrī (*c.*10/631–*c.*841703): "The first person to hold discourse on *(takallama) qadar* (human free will) in Baṣrah and to debate it was Ma'bad." [1]

(b) 'Abdullãh ibn 'Awn al-Baṣrī said: "I used to find people holding discourse *(takallum)* only about 'Alī and 'Uthmãn, until a [certain] humble man showed himself in Baṣrah; he was the first to hold discourse

[1] Muslim, vol.1, pp.28-29; Abū Dãwūd, vol.4, p.223; at-Tirmidhī, vol.5, p.6; al-Bukhãrī, *at-Tãrīkhu 'l-kabīr*, vol.4/1, pp.399-400; *at-Tãrīkhu 'ṣ-ṣaghīr*, vol.1, p.204; Ibn Abī Ḥãtim, vol.4/1, p.280; lbn Sa'd, vol.7/2. p.27; *al-Ma'ãrif,* p.484; lbn Ḥazm*, Jamharat ansãbu 'l-'Arab*, p 445.

(takallama) on *qadar,* and Ma'bad took this from him."[2]

(c) Ghaylãn ibn Muslim ad-Dimashqī (d. *c.*106/724). al-Awzã'ī said: "The first to hold discourse on *(takallama) qadar* was Ma'bad al-Juhanī, then Ghaylãn after him." Ibn Qutaybah reported the same thing.[3]

2. (a) It is reported from the Imãm aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon, him: ". . . I ordered some people to hold discourse *(yatakallimu),* and I forbade others."[4]

(b) Abū Khãlid al-Kãbulī said: "I saw Abū Ja'far, Ṣãḥibu 'ṭ-Ṭãq, [Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn an-Nu'mãn al-Bajalī al-Kūfī (see § 121)] standing in the Rawḍah [the most sacred part of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina], and the people of Medina had been [crowding round him, grabbing at and] tearing the clasps *(azrãr)* [on his shirt], and as often as he answered them they would ask another question. I went up to him and said: 'Abū 'Abdillãh has forbidden us to hold discourse (*kalãm*).' He said: 'Did he order you to tell me?' I said: 'No, by Allah! But he ordered me not to hold discourse with anyone.' He said: 'Go away, and obey what he ordered you to do.' Then I returned to Abū 'Abdillãh, peace he upon him, and related the story of Ṣãḥibu 'ṭ-Ṭãq to him, and what he had said to me, to go away and obey what [the Imãm] had ordered me. Abū 'Abdillãh, peace be upon him, smiled and said: 'O Abū Khãlid, when Ṣãḥibu 'ṭ-Ṭãq holds discourse with people, he soars and he dives. But if they clip your wings you cannot fly.'"[5]

(c) 'Abdu 'l-A'lã, *mawlã* of Ãl Sãm said to Abū 'Abdillãh, peace be upon him: "People find fault with me for holding discourse *(kalãm),* but I continue to hold discourse with the people." He said: "For someone like you who, when he falls, flies up again, it is alright, but for someone who falls and cannot fly up again, no."[6]

(d) Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillãh aṭ-Ṭayyãr (see § 110).

(e) Muḥammad ibn Ḥukaym al-Khath'amī (see § 130).

(f) al-Ḥakam ibn Hishãm (see § 60).

(g) See *al-Kãfī, al-Uṣūl,* "Kitãbu 'l-Ḥujjah", fas.(i), pp.171-3. This extended *ḥadīth* contains several observations made by the Imãm aṣ-Ṣãdiq concerning discourse (*kalãm, takallum*). [N.B. In the English translation, 'disputation' and 'debate' have been used to render *kalãm* and its derivatives into English.] From this, and similar evidence, it is clear that the origins of the science of

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[2] Ibn 'Asãkir, *Tãrīkh Dimashq,* vol.16, pp.799-800; Ibn Manẓūr, *Makhtaṣar,* vol.25, p.117.

[3] *al-Ma'ãrif*, p.484.

[4] al-Kishshī, p.170 [=287], pp.238-9 [=433].

[5] *Ibid.*, pp.185-6 [=327].

[6] *Ibid.*, p.319 [=578].

kalãm are to be found in this practice of holding discourse (*takallum*) and debating with people, as opposed to the practice of citing texts. This view can also be supported by the observation that the majority of these discourses related to the area of matters of belief (‘*aqãid*)*,* which was where the greatest differences occurred, although they were not exclusively concerned with these matters. It is also therefore not surprising that the term *"kalãm"* should have subsequently been used technically to refer to the science of examining the proofs for matters of belief. Thus *kalãm,* properly speaking, is, and was originally, a term for a methodology, the way of arguing about a subject. That it was not always exclusively used to refer to argument about matters of belief can be seen in its simultaneous use to describe discussions about contentious legal matters.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF *KALÃM* AMONG THE IMÃMIYYAH

The meaning of development in this context is the intellectual progress taken by movements in the sciences and in human thought from their origins, which may sometimes proceed rapidly, sometimes slowly, sometimes not move at all, and sometimes even regress. In the present discussion, the first milestone we shall pause at, and which we shall examine is that of the Shaykh al-Mufīd, in order to make some remarks specific to him and appropriate to this context of development, since many non-Imãmī historians of Imãmī *kalãm* have been of the opinion that he was the first to learn Mu'tazilī *kalãrn,* and introduce the ideas of the Mu'tazilah into Imãmī *kalãm* and thus into the Imãmī creed. However, there is a long stretch of time, and several generations, between the time that *kalãm* first appeared among the Imãmiyyah and the time of the Shaykh al-Mufīd, and this history will he given in part ii. Here the following brief points will be made.

1. Kūfah was the first centre for Imãmī *ḥadīth* and *fiqh,* then after two centuries Qum became one of the main centres for these sciences; but Baghdad was the centre for Imãmī *kalãrn* from its inception. It has already been pointed out that Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam had a strong tie with Baghdad from the time it was founded at the beginning of the 'Abbãsid caliphate. He settled there towards the end of his life, and directed *kalãm* sessions there, which were held under the auspices of the Barmakids. His *kalãm* students settled there and taught and debated, and they bequeathed their knowledge to those who took their place and came after them. On the other hand, although from its beginning Imãmī *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* were to be found in Baghdad, it was not the main centre for these sciences, having come here directly from Kūfah and indirectly from Qum.

2. Mu‘tazilī thought originated from a doctrine which they had not taken from the Imãmiyyah, and this was the doctrine of *al-manzilah bayna 'l-manzilatayn,* which is ascribed to the two founders, Ibn ‘Aṭã’ and ‘Amr ibn ‘Uhayd, and which all the Mu‘tazilīs accepted. However, when it comes to their rejection of *jabr* (compulsion), anthropomorphism, and corporealism, it has been pointed out that these ideas were already current among the Imãmiyyah, and might just as well have been taken from them. There is no evidence from this, therefore, for the assertion that Imãmī *kalãm* originally followed, or was taken from, other sects. This is not the place here to discuss this further, except to point out that, although Imãmī *kalãm* rejected *jabr* (compulsion), anthropomorphism, and corporealism, it did not follow this rejection with any kind of doctrine of *ta‘ṭīl* or *ittihãm,* both of which came to characterize Mu‘tazilī thinking.

3. The following is a summary list of the names of Imãmī *mutakallims* who succeeded Hishãm in Baghdad.

i) ‘Alī ibn Manṣūr, Abu '1-Ḥasan al-Kūfī, al-Baghdãdī, [see § 43].

ii) Yūnus ibn ‘Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn, Abū Muḥammad al-Yaqṭīnī, al-Kūfī, al-Baghdãdī (*c.*125/742–208/823–4), [§ 165]; a companion of Hishãm and one of his pupils: "A group of the Shī‘ī were trained by Hishãm and Yūnus, and they taught them *kalãm*."[7] In the books of *rijãl* it is sometimes stated that someone was a 'Yūnusī' where the purpose is to indicate that that person was a pupil of Yūnus in *kalãm,* not only that he heard and narrated *ḥadīth* from him.

iii) Muḥammad ibn Abī ‘Umayr (Ziyãd) ibn ‘Īsã Abū Muḥammad al-Azdī al-Baghdãdī (d.217/832), [§ 115].

iv) ‘Alī ibn Ismã‘īl, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Mīthamī, [§ 42].

v) Abū Mãlik aḍ-Ḍaḥḥãk al-Ḥaḍramī, [§ 16].

vi) Muḥammad ibn al-Khalīl Abū Ja‘far as-Sakkãk al-Baghdãdī, [§ 141]; (v) and (vi) were both students of Hisham.

vii) al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Yaqtīn al-Baghdãdī, [see § 66].

viii) al-Faḍl ibn Shãdhãn ibn al-Khalīl, Abū Muḥammad al-Azdī an-Naysãbīrī (*c.*195/811–260/873), [§ 57]. He said: "I am a successor to those who have preceded me; I saw Muhammad ibn Abī ‘Umayr and Ṣafwãn ibn Yaḥyã and others, and I have studied under them for the past fifty years. Hisham ibn al-Ḥakam, may Allah have mercy upon him, passed away and Yūnus ibn ‘Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn was his successor, and he used to refute opponents. Then Yūnus ibn ‘Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn died, and his

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 498; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl,* vol.2, p.34·

only successor was as-Sakkãk, and he used to refute opponents till he, may Allah have mercy upon him, passed away. And I am the successor to them afterwards." [See §57.] Although al-Faḍl settled in Naysãbūr towards the end of his life, he spent the greater part of his scholarly life living in Baghdad.

ix) Ismã‘īl ibn ‘Alī ibn Isḥãq, Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī al-Baghdãdī (237/851–311/923), [§96]. One of the renowned *mutakallim*s of Baghdad, who held sessions where the *mutakallim*s gathered. In his biography it is mentioned that the Mu‘tazilites claimed that he studied with Abū Hãshim al-Jubbã’ī, but that cannot be correct because Abū Sahl was of the generation of his father, Abū ‘Alī, with whom Abū Hãshim held debates; moreover, when Abū Hãshim moved from Baṣrah to Baghdãd he was the same age as Abū Sahl, and of an equal reputation in knowledge, and therefore in no need of the teaching of Abū Hãshim.

x) al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsã ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad, Abū Muḥammad an-Nawbakhtī (d. *c.*310/922), [§73]. A renowned *mutakallirn* and scholar of philosophy, who held sessions in which *mutakallim*s*,* philosophers, and others, Muslim and non-Muslim, gathered. [Ibn] an-Nadīm said: "The Mu‘tazilites claim him, the Shī‘ites claim him; but he was really in the ranks of the Shī‘ah, for the Nawbakhtī family were well known for their acceptance of the *wilãyah* of ‘Alī and his descendants, peace be upon them."[8] The Mu‘tazilites said about him the same things they said about his uncle Abū Sahl.

xi) Muḥammad ibn Bishr, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn as-Sūsanjirdī al-Ḥamdūnī, one of the students of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī. [§125]

xii) al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī, Abū Muḥammad ibn Abī ‘Aqīl al-‘Umãnī al-Ḥadhdhã’ al-Baghdãdī. A *faqīh* and *mutakallim* whom al-Mufīd greatly praised [see §63].

xiii) ‘Alī ibn ‘Abdillãh ibn Wuṣayf, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, al-Ḥallã’ al-Baghdãdī an-Nãshi’ al-Aṣghar (271/884–365/975 or 366/976), the famous *mutakallim* and poet, who was a student of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī. [§96]

xiv) al-Muẓaffar ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, Abu 'l-Jaysh al-Balkhī al-Khurãsãnī al-Baghdãdī (al-Warrãq) (d. 367/977-8), one of the great *mutakallim*s and narrators of *ḥadīth*. He was a student of Abū Sahl, and Abū Ḥayyãn at-Tawḥīdī said of him: "The *shaykh* of the Shī‘ah, and the *mutakallim* of the Shī‘ah."[9] He was the second of those with whom al-

[8] [Ibn] an-Nadīm, pp. 225-6.
[9] *Akhlãqu 'l-wazirayn*, pp.203, 206-7.

Mufīd studied *kalãm*.[10] [See § 149]

4. None of those who have briefly been mentioned above from the many who can be found in Part II from the time of Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam to that of al-Mufīd learnt *kalãm* from anywhere except from Imãmī sources. No teacher has been mentioned for them who was not an Imãmī. No specific teacher has been mentioned by their biographers for the Banū Nawbakht, with all their high scholarly standing, but there can be a strong presumption that their intellectual growth took place within Shī'ī circles and with Imãmī teachers, precluding any need for them to have imbibed the teaching of others.

In order to understand the situation better, it is necessary to bear in mind that in order to be acquainted with the ideas of their opponents it was necessary for these Shī'ī *mutakallim*s to have recourse to their well-known *kalãm* adversaries, who were, of course, Mu'tazilites. This was especially so in an age when writings on these matters were rarely to be found, and particularly when the young scholars were at an age when they could not yet participate in debating and discussion sessions. The reliable way to acquire learning was to hear directly the narration of it, and this applied not merely in the field of *ḥadīth,* but in all the branches of knowledge and literature, because of the unreliability of the copyists and narrators of books. This is testified by recourse taken in all subjects to narrations and chains of narrations, and to the way of reporting all knowledge in the same form. It was true for the Banū Nawbakht just as it was later for al-Mufīd and al-Murtaḍã. The situation was exactly the same in the case of non-Imãmī *ḥadīth* and *fiqh,* and it was this that forced the Shaykh al-Mufīd and other Imãms to have recourse not only to non-Imãmī *mutakallim*s but also to non-Imãmī *muḥaddith*s and *fuqahã'*.

5. It does indeed seem to be the case that a tributary stream of Mu'tazilī thinking entered into Shī'ī *kalãm* from Mu'tazilī *mutakallim*s who went over to the Imãmī doctrine of the Imãmate. However, they were few and only two of such individuals seem to be mentioned in the sources.

i) Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillãh, Abū 'Abdillãh ibn Mumlak al-Iṣbahãnī, a reputed *mutakallim*, who was a Mu'tazilī who subsequently came to believe in the Imãmate. He held debating sessions, and is credited with refutations of Abū 'Alī al-Jubbã'ī concerning the Imãmate and its proofs [see § 109].

ii) Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn, Abū Ja'far ibn Qibbah ar-Rãzī (d.

[10] aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.198; an-Najãshī, p.422.

*c.*315/927), a reputed and effective Mu‘tazilī *mutakallim* who "saw the light and changed" to lmãmism.

This 'tributary stream' of Mu‘tazilism, then, came through those who, like the two above, changed only their opinion about the Imãmate, without necessarily changing their minds on other beliefs. Two further points are: firstly, on the supposition that they kept most of their original beliefs when they changed to the Imãmī view of the Imãmate, they were not of a sufficient strength or number to have a significant effect on the future of Imãmī *kalãm;* secondly, these two did not live in Baghdad, nor were they connected to Baghdãdī Imãmī *kalãm,* the first of them living originally in Ahwãz then in Iṣfahãn, the second in Rayy.

All this is not to say that there was no interaction. Indeed, it was through interaction that techniques of argumentation and establishing proofs were improved; and this was a two-way process, not only in argumentation, but also to a certain extent in the formation of doctrine. That is to say that the effect of the interaction is to be found in both the Mu‘tazilah and the Shī‘ah, and not that the Imãmīs were affected while the Mu‘tazilah stood firm as a rock.

6. The Mu‘tazilah were divided into two schools: the Baghdãdīs and the Baṣrans. It was the Baghdãdīs who were nearest to the Imãmīs. What were the factors which led the Baghdad school to lean towards Imãmī *kalãm* in many respects, even in their doctrinal attitude to ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭãlib? The Baghdad Mu‘tazilah were famous as *mufaḍḍil*, i.e. they believed the first Shī‘ī Imãm to be the most excellent *(afḍal)* of creation after the Prophet. Examples of these tendencies can be found below in the biographies of the Shaykh al-Mufīd and his teachers.

On the other hand, the Baṣran Mu‘tazilah had, from their beginning with Ibn ‘Aṭã’ and ‘Amr ibn ‘Ubayd, refused to recognize ‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭãlib's rights and denied his pre-excellence, even opposing his claims – although not ostensively. This became the opinion of Baṣran Mu‘tazilah – al-‘Aṣamm and others – thereafter. Other examples of differences between these two schools can be found above in the section on the points of agreement between the Shaykh al-Mufīd and the Mu‘tazilah, and also in al-Mufīd's work *al-Ãrã’ wa 'l-maqãlãt.* In many cases it can he found that the Baghdãdī Mu‘tazilah were in agreement with the Imãmīs when the Baṣran Mu‘tazilah were against them.

There are many examples of this in McDermott's hook, cited when he compares the views of al-Mufīd with those of the Qãḍī ‘Abdu 'l-Jabbãr. The conclusion he reaches is that al-Mufīd tended towards the Baghdad Mu‘tazilah

School while 'Abdu' l-Jabbar tended towards the Baṣran School.[11] However, ʻAbdu 'l-Jabbãr only followed the Baṣrans through his teacher ʻAbdullãh al-Baṣrī, who was, importantly, also al-Mufīd's teacher. The fact that ʻAbdu 'l-Jabbãr followed the Baṣran School in some of his opinions where al-Mufīd did not is evidence that al-Mufid had already formulated his doctrinal views before being taught by al-Baṣrī. Moreover, one of al-Mufīd's works bears the title *ar-Risãlah al-muqnaʻah:* Concerning the agreement of the Baghdãd Muʻtazilah with traditions reported from the Imãms, peace be upon them,[12] and McDermott cites an instance when the Muʻtazilah of Baghdad agreed in a matter with the opinion of "all *(jamhūr)* the Ãl al-Bayt, peace be upon them."[13]

It was not the case that Baṣrah was a stronghold of non-Shīʻī learning, for Baghdad was in those days the centre for Sunnī *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, while Baṣrah was not at all on the same level, as can be seen from the *Tãrīkh Baghdãd.* The difference was that the Imãmīs were in Baghdad and not in Baṣrah. All the evidence points to the fact that, from Bishr ibn al-Muʻtamar onwards, the Baghdãdī Muʻtazilīs differed from the Baṣrans largely because of their contacts with Imãmī *mutakallim*s*,* an example being the Barmakid sessions which Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam attended along with Bishr ibn al-Muʻtamar and other Muʻtazilīs. Why, then, should the influence of an-Naẓẓãm on the Imãmīs have been greater than that of others Baghdãdī Muʻtazilīs? At the same time, the Baṣrans were relative isolated, and thus more inclined to adhere to the doctrines, which they had formulated at the beginning.

While the Sharīf al-Murtaḍã and the Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī differed in some of their views from al-Mufīd, and in these views were nearer to the Baṣran Muʻtazilah, this does not of itself prove that they took their views from the Baṣrans. They were both students of al-Mufīd, and chose to disagree with him. That they were in closer agreement with the Baṣrans may be evidence for nothing more than the general *kalãm* environment, which they all inhabited.

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[11] See: *Theology,* pp.20-30.

[12] See below: al-Mufīd's bibliography, §144.

[13] See: *Theology*, p.58; and *Awãilu 'l-maqãlãt*, Qum, 1993, p.61.

SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT

1. From its beginnings, Imãmī *kalãm* was distinguished from that of other schools by its own specific character. As far as doctrine was concerned, it had an independent existence, cultivated in each period by its own scholars up until the time of the Shaykh al-Mufīd, who, it will be seen, studied Imãmī *kalãm* with Imãmī teachers. If Imãmī *mutakallim*s went to study with *mutakallim*s from other schools, it was out of the need to acquaint them-elves with other doctrinal positions and ways of argumentation, especially those of the Baghdãdī Mu‘tazilīs' School, whose teachings they would use to counter the arguments of the Baṣrans.

2. From their beginnings, the Mu‘tazilah were influenced by the Imãmīs in certain doctrines in which it was possible for them to find common ground – naturally not on matters of great sectarian difference such as the Imãmate. When the Mu‘tazilah split into the Baghdãd and the Baṣran Schools, the main factor influencing their separation was the Baghdãdīs intellectual contact with Imãmī *mutakallim*s, as contrasted with the lack of such contacts in the case of the Baṣrans.

3. It cannot be deduced merely from agreement between the Imãmīs and the Mu‘tazilīs that the former were doctrinally under the influence of the latter; nor does the presence of Imãmīs with Mu‘tazilīs prove that there was doctrinal borrowing. This was not the case either with al-Mufīd or with other Imãmī *mtakallim* before or after him.

4. The division of the non-Imãmīs into the *aṣḥãbu 'l-ḥadīth* and the *mutakallim*s was such that the more those who paid attention to *ḥadīth* penetrated deeply into their narrations, the more they parted ways with *kalãm* and its subject matter, and *vice versa.* In so far as this difference can he said to exist among the Imãmīs, the *muḥaddith*s and the *mutakallim*s did

not differ in the basic doctrines (*uṣūlu 'l-ʿaqīdah*), which were counted necessary for *īmãn.* The difference was one of methods of proof and ways of thinking.

5. The objection made by non-Imãmī *aṣḥãbu 'l-ḥadīth* against their *mutakallim*s, that they were ignorant of *ḥadīth*, and indifferent to hearing and remembering them, can be understood, without necessarily supporting the *mutakallim*s, by taking into account the latter's not altogether unreasonable mistrust of non-Imãmī *ḥadīth* and the contradictions between their contents and matters of doctrine. However, there was little room for the same objection among the Imãmīs, for the leading *mutakallim*s, and among them was al-Mufīd, were also narrators of *ḥadīth* who memorized their contents in the same was as those who only paid attention to *ḥadīth.*

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PART TWO

The Imãmī Leading Scholars and *Mutakallim*s

1. The Biographies of Imãmī *Mutakallim*s.
2. Imãmī *Mutakallim*s

THE BIOGRAPHIES OF IMÃMĪ *MUTAKALLIM*S

In Part II, those figures are mentioned who were either described as *mutakallim*s or who left works which indicate that they were *mutakallirn*s up to the time of the Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī and his students. The list stops here because there has never been any claim that the Imãmī *mutakallim*s were influenced by the Mu‘tazilah after this period. Imãmī *kalãm* can be divided into three periods. In the first, *kalãm* was pursued as an independent discipline, unmixed with philosophy, and Imãmī *mutakallim*s were largely unacquainted with philosophy. The second period, beginning around the time of Naṣīru 'd-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī (597/1202–672/1274) and the ‘Allãmah al-Ḥillī (648/1250–726/1325), can be characterized as one in which *mutakallim*s were also philosophers, but, while they increasingly employed philosophical terminology, retained the structure and divisions of *kalãm*. The third period, starting just before the Ṣafavid period, is one in which *kalãm* is almost entirely taken over by philosophy and *‘irfãn,* and can be said to have lost its character as an independent discipline.

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IMÃMĪ *MUTAKALLIM*S

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§1. ‘Abdu 'l-‘Azīz ibn Abī Kãmil, al-Qãḍī ‘Izzu 'd-Dīn aṭ-Ṭarã-bulusī: He was an erudite scholar, a *mutakallim*, a *faqīh*, and a pious man. He studied with ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī, and he also studied with Abu 'ṣ-Ṣalãḥ, al-Karãjikī and Ibn al-Barrãj. He took over the judicial administration in Tripoli after Ibn al-Barrãj (see §3). He wrote works on *kalãm* and *fiqh*.
[*Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.149; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.10, p.42; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, p.480; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.4, p.205; *Lu'luatu 'l-baḥrayn*, pp.336-7; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.107, pp.70-71, 160, 198; vol.108, pp.46-47, 158; vol.109, pp.28, 29; *Ṭabaqãt a‘lami 'sh-Shī‘ah*, 5th cent., p.106.]

§2. ‘Abdu 'l-‘Azīz ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdi 'l-‘Azīz aṣ-Ṣãyin, Abu 'l-Qãsim al-Imãmī an-Naysãbūrī (a.d. 444/1056): "*Shaykh* of the (Shī‘ī) sectarians, and their *faqīh* in his time." He was a man of knowledge, a narrator of *ḥadīth*, a *faqīh*, a *mutakallim*, who studied with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd (see §144). He wrote works on the two *uṣūl*s (*uṣūlayn*, i.e., *uṣūlu 'd-dīn*, and *uṣūl-'l-fiqh*).
[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.245; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.152; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.459; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.155; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.10, p.37; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, p.488; *Ṭabaqãt a‘lãmi 'sh-Shī‘ah*, 5th cent., p.106.]

§3. ‘Abdu 'l-‘Azīz ibn Niḥrīr ibn ‘Abdi 'l-‘Azīz, al-Qãḍī Sa‘du 'd-Dīn Abu 'l-Qãsim ibn al-Barrãj (*c.*399/1008–481/1088): A prominent figure among his co-sectarians, and a *faqīh* and *mutakallim* in their school. He was born in Egypt and grew up there, and then he moved to Iraq

and studied under ash-Sharīf Murtaḍã in 429/1038 until the latter died. Then he studied with Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah with whom he was close. He returned to Tripoli (Ṭarãbulus) in 438/1046-7, and was the representative of ash-Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭūsī in Syrian territories. He held the position of judge in Tripoli for twent years.

He wrote both on *uṣūl* and *furū'*, including: *Kitãb fi 'l-kalãm*, and a commentary on ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã's *Jumalu 'l-'ilm wa 'l-'amal*.
[*Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.71; Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist*: *al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.241; vol.108, p.46; vol.109, p.28; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.189; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt,* vol.1, p.460; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vo.2, pt.1, p.156; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.10, pp.41-42; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.152-3; *Rijãl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.3, pp.60-63; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.4, pp.202-6; *Lu'luatu 'l-baḥrayn*, pp.331-2; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, p.480; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.1, p.224; *al-Fawãidu 'r-Raḍawiyyah*, p.234; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.304; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.107; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.13, p.178, vol.18, p.107; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.1, p.578; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.5, p.262.]

§4. 'Abdu 'l-Bãqī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmãn, Abū Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb al-Baṣrī: He was a *mutakallim*, a *faqīh*, and a scholar of *ḥadīth*. Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says: "He was a *shaykh* from a mong the prominent persons in our circle and trustworthy. He came to Rayy, and al-Mufīd, 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmãn an-Naysãbūrī studied his writings with him". So, 'Abdu 'l-Bãqī was contemporary with ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī who is another teacher of al-Mūfīd an-Naysãbūrī (see § 10). Among his works were:-

1. *al-Ḥujaj wa 'l-Barãhīn fi 'l-imãmah* (Arguments and Proofs Concerning the Imãmate).
2. *al-Madhhab fi 'l-madhhab* (The Path to the Faith).
3. *Rasãilu 'l-Baṣrah* (in *adh-Dharī'ah* it is called *ar-Rasãilu 'l-Baṣriyyah*) Treaties from Baṣrah).
4. *ad-Dalãil* (The Proofs).

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.243; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.141-2; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.437; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.133; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.9, p.268; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.101; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.6, p.263; vol.8, pp.236-7; vol.10, p.244; vol.20, p.275.]

§5. 'Abdu 'l-Jabbãr ibn 'Abdillãh ibn 'Alī, ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd, Abu 'l-Wafã' al-Muqri' ar-Rãzī (d. 506/1112-3): A scholar, a *faqīh*, a narrator of *ḥadīth* and a *mutakallim*. Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says: "He was an

Imãmī *faqīh* in Rayy; in his time all the educated persons among the *sayyid*s and the *'ulamã'* studied with him. He himself had studied with ash-Shaykh Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī all the latter's writings; he also studied with the two *shaykh*s, Sãlãr and Ibn al-Barrãj, and he wrote several books."

He had a college in Rayy named after him in which he taught. Some of his biographers say that there were something like four hundred students (*ṭullãb*) studying *fiqh* and *kalãm* there.

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.242; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.438; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.142, 143; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.133; *Mu'jam rijãl 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.9, p.270; *Mustadrak 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, pp. 444, 473, 475, 485, 488 & 496; Introduction to aṭ-Ṭūsī's *Rijãl*, p.46; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.103; *an-Naqḍ*, p.35; *Ta'līqãtu 'n-naqḍ*, vol.1, pp.95-99, 15; *Talkhīṣ majma'i 'l-ãdãb*, [letters *lãm* and *mīm*], p.715.]

§6. 'Abdullãh ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn az-Zubayrī: He wrote *Kitãb fi 'l-imãmah*, and a book called *al-Istifãdah* (or, as in *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, *al-Isti'ãdhah*) *fi 'ṭ-ṭu'ūn 'ala 'l-awãil wa 'r-radd 'alã aṣḥãbi 'l-ijtihãd* (i.e., 'The acceptance of Personal Opinion, and the Absence of Recourse to the Book, the *sunnah* and the Extraction of the Command of Divine Law,' and it was this that was meant by *ijtihãd* in those days) *wa 'l-qiyãs* (The Utility [or Protection] concerning the Calumnies against the First Ones and the Refutation of the People of *ijtihãd* and *qiyãs* [analogical reasoning]).

an-Najãshī said: "I saw (the name of this book) in the hand writing of Abu 'l-'Abbãs ibn Nūḥ (d.*c.*423/1032) in the certificate (of permission for narration) of his books which he gave me."

[an-Najãshī, p.163; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, p.25; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.202; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.495; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.196; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.10, p.254; *adh-Darī'ah*, vol.2, pp.29, 328.]

§7. 'Abdullãh ibn Ja'far, Abu 'l-'Abbãs al-Ḥimyarī al-Qummī (fl. 297/910): He was the leader of the scholars of Qum and the most distinguished of them. He was a trustworthy narrator of *ḥadīth*, and he wrote several books, including: *at-Tawḥīd wa 'l-istiṭã'ah wa 'l-afã'il wa 'l-badã'* (Divine Unity, Human Capacity and Deeds, and Badã'). *al-'Aẓamah wa 't-tawḥīd* (Divine and Majesty and Unity) and *al-Imãmah* (The Imãmate).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.128; an-Najashī, pp.162-3; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.65; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.3, p273-4; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.174; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.10, pp.145-7; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.328; vol.4, p.485; vol.15, p.279; *al-A'lãm*, vol.4, p.204; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.6, p.40.]

§8. ‘Abdullãh ibn al-Mughīrah, Abū Muḥammad al-Bajalī, al-Kūfī al-Khazzãz: It is said of him: "He was extremely trustworthy, and no-one could equal him in his eminence, religion, and piety." He narrated from Abu 'l-Ḫasan Mūsã and ar-Riḍã (148/765–203/818), peace be upon them both, and he was one of the six of their companions about whom there is general agreement concerning their truthfulness and in accepting them in *fiqh* and other kinds of knowledge. He wrote thirty books, including *Kitãb fī aṣnãfi 'l-kalãm* (Book on the Different Discussions on Kalãm).
[an-Najãshī, p.159; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, pp.54-55; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.213-4; al-‘Allãmah, pp.109-10; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.208; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.511; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.218; *Mu‘jam rijãl 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.10, pp.352-7; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.2, p.173.]

§9. ‘Abdullãh ibn Muḥammad, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥajjãl al-Asadī al-Kūfī: He was one of the companions of ar-Riḍã, peace be upon him. "Most trustworthy and reliable" as aṭ-Ṭūsī, an-Najãshī and others said. al-Faḍl ibn Shãdhãn (*c.*195/811–260/873), who met him in Kūfah and debated with him, said: "Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥajjãl showed himself to be knowledgeable in *kalãm*, and he was one of the most able people (in disputation)." (al-Kishshī, p.216; an-Najãshī, p.27; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, p.133; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.297; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, p.47; vol.10, p.316.)
[For biographical references: *Rijãlu 'l-Barqī*, p.55; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijãl*, p.381, and *al-Fihrist*, p.128; an-Najãshī, p.168; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, p.46; Ibn Dãwūd, p.210; al-‘Allãmah, p.105; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.206; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.10, p.503; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.206; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.10, pp.315-6.]

§10. ‘Abdu 'r-Raḥmãn ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn, ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd Abū Muḥammad al-Khuzã‘ī an-Naysãbūrī ar-Rãzī (son of §26)**:** *Shaykh* of the Imãmiyyah in Rayy, memorizer of *ḥadīth*, preacher (*wã‘iẓ*), scholar of *ḥadīth*, *mutakallim*, trustworthy (in narration of *ḥadīth*). He traveled both in Eastern and Western lands, and studied under both ‘Alamu 'l-Hudã al-Murtaḍã and his brother ar-Raḍī. He also studied ash-Shaykh Abū Ja‘far aṭ-Ṭūsī, and the *shaykh*s Sãlãr, Ibn al-Barrãj and al-with Karãjikī.

Ibn Ḥajar has given his biography and lists all his non-Imãmī teachers and pupils. He narrates from as-Sam‘ãnī that he says about him: "He was

well-versed in *ḥadīth* and displayed ardent zeal in (researching into) them." He also narrates from Ibn Ṭayyi' that "he was one of the most knowledgeable people in *ḥadīth*, the most discerning of them in this subject as well as in the study of their narrators. It is said that there were more than three thousand students (*lit.* "ink-pots") at his sessions. Whenever he was asked about a *ḥadīth* he knew whether it was a strong one or a weak one. He is said to have memorized one hundred thousand *ḥadīth* . . ." The date of his death is given as 445/1053-4, although it is given in *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn* as *c.*510/1116; but I have some doubt about both dates, since the first does not concur with the dates of the *shaykh*s under whom he studied (perhaps this is the date of the death of his father [see §26]), and the second is not in agreement with the dates of one of his teachers, ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī (359/970–406/1015).

He wrote books on *kalãm*, *fiqh* and other subjects.

[*Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulmã'*, p.121; Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.242; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.446; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.147, 355; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.140; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.9, pp.320-1; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.5, p.315; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, p.489; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.3, pp.199-200; *al-Fawãidu 'r-Raḍawiyyah*, p.223; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.104; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.3, pp.404-405; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.1, p.518.]

§11. 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmãn ibn Aḥmad ibn Jabrūyah, Abū Muḥammad al-'Askarī (3rd/9th): an-Najãshī says: "He was a *mutakallim* among the men of our religion, an excellent writer, outstanding in *kalãm*, and at his hand Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillãh ibn Mumlak al-Iṣbahãnī (see §109) turned from the Mu'tazilī sect to Imãmī belief. He debated with 'Abbãd ibn Sulaymãn (al-Baṣrī, student of Hishãm ibn 'Amr al-Fuwaṭī [d. 226/841], both Mu'tazilīs) and with those who were his contemporaries. (He wrote several books) including *al-Kãmil fi 'l-imãmah* (The Complete Book of the Imãmate), an excellent book." al-Ash'arī (260/874–324/936) mentions him and says: "He is one of the most recent Rãfiḍites of our time." It will from what follows concerning Ibn Mumlak (§109) that "al-'Askarī" (of al-'Askar) in Ibn Jabrūyah's name refrs to 'Askar Mukram, a well known region in Khūzistãn from which came a number of scholars including Abū Aḥmad al-'Askarī and Abū Hilãl al-'Askarī (*Mu'jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.4, pp.123-4).

as-Sam'ãnī said: "Although al-'Askarī refers to several places and things, the most well-known is that which refers to 'Askar Mukram." (*al-Ansãb*, vol.9, pp.297-9) That is to say, not to al-'Askar as it refers to Sãmarrã' (= Surra man-ra'ã) which is the most usual among the Imãmiyyah. This is

confirmed also by the fact that many Baṣran Mu‘tazilīs have this *nisbah*, ‘Askar Mukram being near Baṣrah.
[an-Najãshī, pp.176-7; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, p.74; Ibn Dãwūd, p.222; al-‘Allãmah, p.114; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.184; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.446; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, pp.139-40; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*; vol.9, p.320; *Ta’sīsu 'sh-Shī‘ah*, p.375; *Maqãlãtu 'l-Islãmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.120.]

§12. ‘Abdu 's-Salãm ibn Ṣãliḥ, Abu 'ṣ-Ṣalt al-Harawī (d. 236/851): He was a companion of ar-Riḍã, (*‘a.s.*), and he narrated from him and was trustworthy in *ḥadīth*.
[al-Kishshī, pp.615-6; an-Najãshī, p.184; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, pp.87-88; Ibn Dãwūd, p.224; al-‘Allãmah, p.117; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.187-8; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.456; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, pp.151-2; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.10, pp.18-20.]

Aḥmad ibn Sayyãr ibn Ayyūb, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Marwazī ash-Shãfi‘ī (198/813–268/881), whom our brother Sunnī scholars recognize as a *faqīh*, a memorizer (*ḥãfiẓ*) of many *ḥadīth*, a trustworthy narrator of *ḥadīth*, says: "Abu 'ṣ-Ṣalt al-Harawī came to Marw in the days of al-Ma’mūn the ‘Abbãsid (and al-Ma’mūn was in this city till 204/819, when he left for Baghdãd). Abu 'ṣ-Ṣalt wanted to set out (to visit) the *ghazw* (this word denotes in this period of history the activities of groups of quasi-independent pious Muslims who were stationed on the border of the lands of Islam and periodically raided the territories of the unbelievers, but they were not always under the control of the Caliph). He was taken into the presence of al-Ma’mūn, and when al-Ma’mūn heard him speaking, he made him one of his special companions, and kept him close to himself until he himself set out (to tour the region of) the *ghazw*.

"He kept his position of respect with al-Ma’mūn till the latter sought to express the argument of Jahm (ibn Ṣafwãn [d. 128/745]) and the opinion that the Qur’ãn was created. (al-Ma’mūn expressed this [view] in the year 212/827; then he again declared it and vehemently called upon the people to accept it in 218/833.) He (al-Ma’mūn) brought him (Abu 'ṣ-Ṣalt) together with Bishr al-Marrīsī (al-Baghdãdī al-Ḥanafī [*c.*138/755–218/833]) and asked the former to debate with him. ‘Abdu 's-Salãm used to reject the dissenters among the Murji‘ites, the Jahmiyyah, the Zindīqs and the believers in predestination, and he debated with Bishr al-Marrīsī and others versed in *kalãm* more than once in the presence of al-Ma’mūn, and all turned out a victory for him, and he was famous for his knowledge of Shī‘ī *kalãm*."

[*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.11, p.47; *Mīzãnu 'l-i'tidãl*, vol.2, p.616; *Tahdhību 't-tahdhīb*, vol.6, p.320; *al-Ansãb*, A/590; *ar-Rawḍu 'n-naḍīr*, vol.1, p.176.]

§13. Abū Ghãnim al-'Uṣmī al-Harawī al-Imãmī: al-Ḥurr al-'Ãmilī says: "He was a *faqīh*, a truthful man and a *mutakallim*, a student of as-Sayyid al-Murtaḍã from whom he narrated all his writings." Here he calls him Ghãnim, but he mentions him a second time, and says: "ash-Shaykh Abū Ghãnim al-'Uṣmī al-Harawī ash-Shī'ī al-Imãmī, a man of exceeding knowledge who narrated from as-Sayyid al-Murtaḍã."
[*Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.213, 356; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, p.345; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent. p.11.]

His correct name is Abū Ghãnim (see the *Ijãzah* of Ṣãḥib al-Ma'ãlim al-Kabīrah in *al-Biḥãr*, vol.109, pp.45 & 47; also *al-Mustadrak*, vol.3, pp.491 & 495; *al-Ghadīr*, vol.4, p.271). And al-'Uṣmī is the name of a large family of scholars from Herãt (*al-Ansãb*, vol.9, p.320).

Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says: "ash-Shaykh Sadīdu 'd-Dīn Abū Ghãnim ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ghãnim al-Jawwãnī, a correct *faqīh*." (Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.257; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.409; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.356 – once as ash-Shaykh Ḍiyãu 'd-Dīn . . . al-Jawwãnah, and a second time as ash-Shaykh Sadīdu 'd-Dīn . . . al-Jawwãnī, both of them from Muntajabu 'd-Dīn; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.2, p.30, where he is called al-Ḥawwãnī.)

These are two biographies of the same person, or so it would appear; it seems that al-Jawãnī is correct (not al-Jawwãnī), coming from Jawãn, which is a village in the region of Harãt Rūd (= Herãt).
[*Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, in the description of the town of Herãt, in Persia, vol.1, p.146; and in foot-note about it from *Kitãbu 'l-Jughrãfiyah* by al-Ḥãfiẓ Abrū.]

§14. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, Ḥumrãn ibn A'yan ash-Shaybãnī al-Kūfī (d. *c.*130/748): The family of A'yan ibn Sunsun was among the most outstanding Shī'ī (Imãmate) families in the study of jurisprudence, *ḥadīth* and *kalãm* (see *Risãlah Abū Ghãlib az-Zurãrī* [285/898–368/978] under 'Ãl A'yan'; [Ibn] Nadīm, p.276; *Rijãl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.1, pp.222-57).

Ḥumrãn was one of the *tãbi'īn* (those who had not seen the Prophet himself, but frequented his companions [*aṣḥãb*]), and was a companion of the Imãms al-Bãqir and aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon them both. He was one of the outstandingly trustworthy (*thiqah*) narrators from them; indeed, he is counted as one of their closest followers (*ḥuwãriyy*), and their praises of him have been narrated. He was one the most famous Shī'ī *mutakallim* from the period of these two Imãms, peace be upon them both. He was among those

who were present in the session, which we referred to in the biography of Qays al-Mãṣir, and he argued with the *mutakallim* from Shãm. al-Imãm aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon him, said to him: "You debate on the authority of the traditions and you act correctly" (refer to the sources given under Qays al-Mãṣir, see §151). aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon him, said to the man who had come to debate with him: "If you defeat Ḥumrãn, you will have defeated me." (al-Kishshī, p.276; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, p229; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.298; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.47, p.407)

(Concerning the life of Ḥumrãn, see: al-Kishshī, pp.10, 148, 161, 176-81, 397-8, 463; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijãl*, pp.117, 181; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, pp.233-7; Ibn Dãwūd, p.134; al-'Allãmah, pp.63-64; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.118; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.278; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.370-2; *Mu'jam rujãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.6, pp.254-61.)

Non-Shī'ī authors have also written biographies of him: they have said that he was a reciter of the Qur'ãn, and that he was a transmitter of *ḥadīth* from Abu 'ṭ-Ṭufayl, Abū Ja'far al-Bãqir and others. Also Sufyãn ath-Thawrī (the famous Sunnī traditionist) and others narrated from him. adh-Dhahabī said: "He died around 130/748, and his recitation of the Qur'ãn was praised, for he knew the principles of recitation (*yutqin*) of the Qur'ãn, and he was a great reciter who was consistent in his recitation. Ḥamzah ibn Ḥabīb at-Taymī az-Zayyãt (80/700–156/773) one of the seven reciters (*al-qurrã' as-sab'ah*) recited before him (i.e. learnt from him) and there was general agreement about the competence of his (Ḥamzah's) recitation and about the fact that he never recited without basing his recitation on a traditional source." (*Tahdhību 't-tahdhīb*, vol.3, pp.27-28)

It is mentioned that Ḥamzah's recitation before Ḥumrãn was perfectly in accordance with the principles of recitation. As for *ḥadīth*, some of the non-Shī'ī authorities have deemed him trustworthy, while others have discredited him because he was a Rãfiḍī (Shī'ī), and have called him unreliable on account of this.

[al-Bukhãrī, *at-Tãrīkhu 'l-kabīr*, vol.2, pt.1 (iii), p.80; *al-Jarḥ wa 't-ta'dīl*, vol.1, pt.2 (iii), p.265; *Mīzãnu 'l-i'tidãl*, vol.1, p.604; *al-Kãshif*, vol.1, p.253; *Tahdhību 't-tahdhīb*, vol.3, p.25; *Taqrību 't-tahdhīb*, vol.1, p.198; *Khulãṣat tahdhību 'l-kamãl*, p.92; *Ghãyatu 'n-nihãyah fī ṭabaqãti 'l-qurrã'*, vol.1, p.261; *Ma'rifatu 'l-qurrã'i 'l-kibãr*, vol.1, pp.57-58.]

§15. Abū Isḥãq, Ibrãhīm ibn Nawbakht: He wrote the book *al-Yãqūt* about the science of *kalãm*, on which al-'Allãmah al-Ḥillī (648/1250–726/

1325) wrote a commentary. The commentary was completed in 684/1285, and is called *Anwãru 'l-malakūt fī sharḥ 'l-yãqūt*. In the introduction, the commentator writes: "Our Shaykh, from previous times, our great teacher Abū Isḥãq, Ibrãhīm ibn Nawbakht . . . wrote the concise treaties called *al-Yãqūt* which contained some of noblest and high matters (of *kalãm*), and the discussion of the greatest and most elevated of them." Muḥammad Najmī, Professor at Tehran University, edited this commentary, and published it in 1338 S./1959 AD.

‘Izzu 'd-Dīn ‘Abdu 'l-Ḥamīd ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd al-Mu‘tazilī (586/1190–656/1258) also wrote a commentary on *al-Yãqūt*, for in the list of his works is written: 'Commentary on *al-Yãqūt* of Ibn Nawbakht concerning *kalãm*.' [See the biography of Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd appended to *Sharḥ Nahju 'l-balãghah* (Dãru 'l-Kutubi 'l-‘Arabiyyah al-Kubrã bi-Miṣr, Cairo, 1329 AH, p.575), which is quoted from *Mu‘jizu 'l-ãdãb fī mu‘jami 'l-alqãb* of Ibn al-Fuwaṭī; but this is note given in its entirety in his book *Talkhīs majma‘i 'l-ãdãb fī mu‘jami 'l-alqãb*, vol.4, pt.1, pp.90-91, although it is in *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.5, p.22; al-Baḥrãnī, *al-Kashkūl*, vol.3, p.37, quoted from Ibn al-Fuwaṭī.]

Marginalia to the commentary of al-‘Allãmah and other commentaries to the book are mentioned in *adh-Dharī‘ah*.

The biographers have concocted different versions of the name of the writer of *al-Yãqūt* and his times. The writer of *Riyãdhu 'l-‘ulãmã’*, says that he was "Ismã‘īl ibn Isḥãq ibn Abī Ismã‘īl ibn Nawbakht," and some of them refer to this statement. Others refer to what al-‘Allãmah al-Ḥillī said, and among these is ash-Shaykh ‘Abbãs al-Qummī, who says: "Abū Isḥãq, Ibrãhīm ibn Isḥãq ibn Abī Sahl, the grandson of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī" (see §96). As for the dates of the writer, as-Sayyid aṣ-Ṣadr traces him back to the end of the second century, beginning of the third century (8^{th}–9^{th} cent. AD), while some place him a long time after this, after 330/942, as witness references found in *al-Yãqūt*.

[Concerning the author and his time see: *Ta’sīsu 'sh-Shī‘ah*, pp.364-6; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.1, pp.480-1; vol.2, pp.444-5; vol.13, p.115; vol.14, p.178; vol.25, pp.271-2; al-Qummī, *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.1, p.94; *Khãndãn-e Nawbakhtī*, pp.166-77; Muḥammad Najmī, Introduction to *Anwãru 'l-malakūt*; *A‘yãnu 'sh-Shī‘ah*, vol.5, pp.73-74; Sezgin, I, 542, 36.]

§16. Abū Mãlik aḍ-Ḍaḥḥãk al-Ḥaḍramī al-Kūfī: He was contemporary with the Imãm aṣ-Ṣãdiq (84/702–148/765), peace be upon him, and he narrated from the Imãm al-Kãẓim (129/746–183/799), peace be upon him. He was a companion of Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam and was a pupil of his.

"He was a *mutakallim* who was extremely trustworthy in *ḥadīth*", according to an-Najãshī and others. He was the author of *Kitãb fi 't-tawḥīd* (Book on Divine Unity).
[al-Kishshī, p.278; an-Najãshī, p.154; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.3, p.224; Ibn Dãwūd, p.189; al-'Allãmah, p.90; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.261; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.418; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.104; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah lī 'ulūmi 'l-Islãm*, p.362; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.9, pp.148-9; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.4, p.480.]

§17. Abū Manṣūr aṣ-Ṣarrãm an-Naysãbūrī: Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He was a previous leader of the outstanding *mutakallim*s, but he was a believer in *wa'īd*," (the doctrine that anyone who commits a major sin without repenting in this world becomes an unbeliever [*kãfir*] and is condemned to everlasting Fire). Among his books are: *Bayãnu 'd-Dīn* (The Explanation of the Religion; a book on the fundamentals of faith); *Ibṭãlu 'l-qiyãs* (The Invalidation of Analogical Reasoning). aṭ-Ṭūsī added: "I studied most of *Bayãnu 'd-Dīn* with Abū Ḥãzim an-Naysãbūrī, who had studied it with [the author]. I met [the author's] son Abu 'l-Qãsim, who was a *faqīh*, and his grandson by his daughter Abu 'l-Ḥasan, who was a scholar of *ḥadīth* (ibid. p.221 [#.872])." This Abū Ḥãzim is 'Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrãhīm ibn 'Abdūyah, al-Hudhalī al-'Abdawī (*c.*345/936–417/1026), one of the sons of 'Utbah ibn Maṣ'ūd, the brother of 'Abdullãh ibn Maṣ'ūd, "the leader of the memorizers of *ḥadīth*, the noble among the *muḥaddithūn*", according to adh-Dhahabī. From his early youth he studied with the great scholars of *ḥadīth* and reached the highest degree in this subject; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdãdī said: "I met Abū Ḥãzim in Naysãbūr, and wrote down many *ḥadīth*s from him; he was trustworthy, reliable, knowledgeable, memorizer." He was from a family of scholars of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, his father Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Ibrãhīm (d. 385/995) was a narrator of *ḥadīth* and a teacher of al-Ḥãkim an-Naysãbūrī, and his paternal uncle Abū 'Abdillãh Muḥammad ibn Ibrãhīm (d. 323/935) was one of the famous scholars of *ḥadīth* of Naysãbūr.
[*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.11, pp.272-3; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.27; *al-Ansãb*, vol.9 p.189; *al-Lubãb*, vol.2, p.314; as-Subḥī, *Ṭabaqãtu 'sh-Shãfi'iyyah*, vol.5, pp.300-1; *Siyar a'lãmu 'n-nubalã'*, vol.18, pp.333-6; *Tadhkiratu 'l-ḥuffãẓ*, vol.3, p.1072.]

It is clear from aṭ-Ṭūsī's mention of him that he was Shī'ī, for a Shī'ī would not have studied a Shī'ite text with a non-Shī'ī and teach it in turn to a Shī'ī, although in the texts which give his biography he is mentioned as a non-Shī'ī. Since aṭ-Ṭūsī mentions Abū Manṣūr aṣ-Ṣarrãm, his son, and his

grandson, and Abū Ḥãzim without giving any details, it can be assumed that these persons were well known and did not need further biographies, which also shows that the books in which their biographies were given have now been lost, and we now only have information about Abū Ḥãzim aṣ-Ṣarrãm, one who deals in leather (*ṣarm*); the Arabic *ṣarm* is from the Persian *charm* (leather). (*al-Ansãb*, vol.8, p.295; *Lisãnu 'l-'Arab*, vol.12, p.339; *Qãmūs*, vol.4, p.139; *Tãju 'l-'arūs*, vol.8, p.366.)

I have not come across any personal name for him; all references are to his *kunyah* (Abū Manṣūr) and his *laqab* (aṣ-Ṣarrãm).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.221, 225; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, pp.127-8; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.7, pp.101-2, 164; al-'Allãmah, p.188; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.399; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, pp.419, 434; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.2, p.36; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, pp.13, 16; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.7, p.151; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.1, p.69; vol.3, 181.]

§18. Abu 'ṭ-Ṭayyib ar-Rãzī: Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He was one of the important *mutakallim*s; he wrote many books on the Imãmate and on *fiqh*, and he was a believer in *irjã'* (see §151)." He mentions that Abū Muḥammad al-'Alawī (this is Yaḥyã ibn Muḥammad az-Zubãrī [318/93–376/986], see §164) learnt from him, but I have not come across his name, except that I think that there is a strong possibility that he is al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, Abu 'ṭ-Ṭayyib ar-Rãzī, with whom ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq had a meeting and from whom he narrated in Naysãbūr in 352/963 (*'Uyūn Akhbãri 'r-Riḍã [ʻalayhi 's-salãm]*, vol.2, p.238; *'Ilalu 'sh-sharãi'*, vol.1, p.228; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.49, p.144).

[For his biography refer to: aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.221, 225; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.126; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.7, pp.57, 164; Ibn Dãwūd, p.401; al-'Allãmah, p.188; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.391; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, pp.396, 434; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.2, p.22; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.6, pp.304-5; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.13, 16.]

§19. Abū Yãsir Ṭãhir Ghulãm: [Student of Abu 'l-Jaysh al-Khurãsãnī (see §149)]**.** Nothing has been written about him except that he was the student (*ghulãm*) of Abu 'l-Jaysh, and it is said that he was a *mutakallim*, and he has several writings to his name. It is also said: "It was with him, to begin with, that our *shaykh*, Abū 'Abdillãh (al-Mufīd, see §144) studied ", and (Ibn) an-Nadīm counts him among the Shī'ī (Imãmī) *mutakallim*s.

[an-Najãshī, p.155; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.112; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.53; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.3, pp.228-9; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.226; Ibn Dãwūd, p.190;

al-ʻAllãmah, p.90; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.175; *Jãmiʻu 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.420; *Amalu 'l-ʻãmil*, vol.2, pp.137-8; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.108; *Muʻjãm rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.9, p.164; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shīʻah*, p.380.]

§20. Ãdam ibn Yūnus ibn Abi 'l-Muhãjir an-Nasafī: Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says: "He was a *shaykh*, a *faqīh*, trustworthy, of equitable behaviour (*ʻãdil*), who studied with ash-Shaykh Abū Jaʻfar aṭ-Ṭūsī all the latter's writings." Ibn Ḥajar wrote a biography of him in which he said: "Abū ʻAlī ibn Bãbawayh mentions him as an Imãmī Shīʻī narrator of traditions, and says that he was 'a *faqīh* and a debator.'"
[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.207; *Jãmiʻu 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.8; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.7; *Rijãl Baḥru 'l-ʻUlūm*, vol.4, p.67; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.2-3; *Muʻjam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.1, p.9; *Ṭabaqãt aʻlãmi 'sh-Shīʻah*, 5th cent., p.1; *Aʻyãnu 'sh-Shīʻah*, vol.5, p.6; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.1, .337.]

§21. Aḥmad ibn Abī Zãhir (Mūsã), Abū Jaʻfar al-Ashʻarī al-Qummī (3rd/9th): He was a distinguished scholar of Qum. He wrote several books, including: *al-Badã'* and *al-Jabr wa 't-tafwīḍ* (Predestination and the Delegation of Responsibility).
[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.49; *ar-Rijãl*, p.453; an-Najãshī, p.69; *Maʻãlimu 'l-ʻulamã'*, p.12; *Majmaʻu 'r-rijãl*, vol.1, pp.92-93; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.417-8; al-ʻAllãmah, p.203; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.17; *Jãmiʻu 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.40; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.49; *Muʻjam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, pp.26-27; *adh-Dharīʻah*, vol.3, pp.53-54; vol.5, p.84.]

§22. Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn al-ʻAbbãs, Abu 'l-ʻAbbãs an-Najãshī al-Asadī al-Baghdãdī (372/982–450/1058): A man of knowledge and letters, a narrator with an extensive knowledge of *ḥadīth*, a *faqīh*, and a *mutakallim*. Although an-Najãshī became famous for his writing the well-known work *Fihrist asmã' muṣannifi 'sh-Shīʻah* (List of the Names of Shīʻī Writers), in which he revealed the great extent of his wide hearing of *ḥadīth*, he also demonstrates his knowledge of literature and philology, for he never mentions a book without also mentioning the way it was narrated from its author. For the lives of his *shaykh*s and teacher see *Rijãl Baḥru 'l-ʻUlūm*, vol.2, pp.23-106, and *Muʻjam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, pp.157-65, where sixty-four are counted. On top of all this, he was a *faqīh*, a *mutakallim* with extensive knowledge, and a keen perception.

He studied with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd (see § 144) and stayed with him for a number of years. He did not only study the Shaykh's *kalãm*, *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* writings with him, but also studied much of what the Shaykh al-Mufīd narrated to him from his own *shaykh*s: and from what an-Najãshī details, among the *kalãm* books that he read with his teacher al-Mufīd was *at-Tanbīh fi 'l-imãmah* by Abū Sahl an -Nawbakhtī (see § 96 bk.23), (*al-Fihrist*, p.25). He also read with him *al-Karr wa 'l-farr fi 'l-imãmah* by Ibn Abī ‘Aqīl al-‘Umãnī (see § 63), which he described as "beautifully composed, discussing every aspect of the problem (*mas'alah wa qalbuhã wa ‘aksuhã*)", (*al-Fihrist*, p.38). Lastly, he read with him *al-Ãrã' wa 'd-diyãnãt* (Opinions and Religions) by al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsã an-Nawbakhtī (see § 73-bk.23), which he described as "a large and excellent book, embracing many sciences" (*al-Fihrist*, p.50). He also studied under ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã (see § 39) and was one of his special students, just as he had been one of al-Mufīd's special students before, and he was one of the people charged with his ritual funeral washing (*al-Fihrist*, p.207).

§ 23. Aḥmad ibn Dãwūd ibn Sa‘īd al-Fazãrī, Abū Yaḥyã al-Jurjãnī an-Naysãbūrī: He was one of the greatest men of the science of *ḥadīth*. At first he was not a Shī‘ī, but he became one, "and he has many writings on the sciences of disputing with opponents", as it is said. Some trouble arose for him in Naysãbūr with Muḥammad ibn Ṭãhir ibn ‘Abdillãh al-Khuzã‘ī (d. 298/911), who was the governor of Khurãsãn from 248/862–259/873. This latter seized him and gave the order that his tongue, his hands and his feet should cut off, and that he should be beaten a thousand times, but Allãh saved him from this.

He wrote a number of books, and among those concerned with *kalãm* are:

1. *Miḥnatu 'n-Nãbitah* (The Misfortune of the Nãbitah) in which he wrote about the Ḥashwiyyah sect and their infamies (see § 57/bk.18);
2. *Kitãbu 'l-Ghawghã' min aṣnãfi 'l-ummah mina 'l-Murjiah wa 'l-Qadariyyah wa 'l-Khawãrij* (Book of Those Among the Murji'ites, the Qadarites and the Khãrijites Who caused a Commotion about the Different Sections of the Community);
3. *Kitãb faḍãiḥi 'l-Ḥashwiyyah* (Book of the Infamies of the Ḥashwites);
4. *Kitãbu 't-Tafwīḍ* (Book on the Delegation of Responsibility to Man for his Actions); and
5. *Kitãbu 'r-Radd ‘ala 'l-Ḥanbalī* (Book of the Refutation of the Ḥanbalite [?])

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.58-59; *ar-Rijãl*, p.456; an-Najãshī, p.353; al-Kishshī,

pp.532-3; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, pp.18-19; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.1, pp.114-5; vol.7, p.109; Ibn Dãwūd, p.27; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.22; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.50; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.60-61; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, pp.108-11.]

§24. Aḥmad ibn Ḥammãd, al-Maḥmūdī al-Marwazī: One of the companions of al-Imãm al-Jawãd, peace be upon him (195/811– Imãmate 203/818–220/835), who died in the period of the Imãmate of the Imãm. The Imãm wrote to his son, Muḥammad Abū 'Alī al-Maḥmūdī: "Your father has passed away, may Allãh be pleased with him and with you. He was someone we recognized as worthy of praise (*maḥmūdah*), and you yourself are not far from this status." al-Faḍl ibn Shãdhãn referred to him as Aḥmad ibn Ḥammãd al-Mutashayyi', which shows that he was not originally Shī'ī. "The Maḥmūdī household (*bayt*) in Marw was famous and illustrious for [its] knowledge" as as-Sam'ãnī said, Ibnu 'l-Athīr said: "[they were] eminent men of knowledge". (*al-Ansãb*, f.B, *al-Lubãb*, vol.3, p.176). He debated with Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-'Allãf, the famous Mu'tazilī (135/753–235/850) which his son Abū 'Alī Muḥammad al-Maḥmūdī narrated from him, and at the end of this they discussed the question of the Imãmate. (al-Kishshī, pp.561-2, [#.1060]; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.1, pp.110-1; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.59; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, pp.102-3; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.8, pp.248-9; *al-Manãqib*, vol.1, p.249 [in which it is erroneously said that the debate was with his son Abū 'Alī]).
[See: al-Kishshī, pp.559-62; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijãl*, p.398; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.1, pp.109-11; al-'Allãmah, pp.204-5; Ibn Dãwūd, p.420; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.21; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.48; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.59; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, pp.100-3; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.8, pp.247-50.]

§25. Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abdillãh, al-Mihrãnī al-Ãbī: Ibn Sharãshūb says: "He wrote: *Tartību 'l-adillah fī-mã yulzimu khuṣūma 'l-Imãmiyyah daf'uhu 'ani 'l-ghaybah wa 'l-ghãib* (The Arrangement of Proofs Concerning [those Objections] to do with the Occultation and the One Who is Hidden Whose Refutation Forces Acceptance on the Enemies of the Imãmiyyah), and *al-Mukãfa'ah fi 'l-madhhab fi 'n-naqḍ 'alã Abī Khalaf* (The Equalization in the Faith Concerning the Denial of Abū Khalaf)." In *Amalu 'l-ãmil* this latter is given as *al-Mukãfa'ah fi 'l-madhhab*, and *Kitãb fi 'n-naqḍ 'alã Abī Khalaf* (Abū Khalaf), (apparently there are two books).

al-'Allãmah al-Waḥīd al-Bihbihãnī, al-Mãmaqãnī, al-Khū'ī and Ãghã

Buzurg mention: "It was from this man that ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq [*c.*306/ 919–381/991] narrated." aṣ-Ṣadūq said: "Abu 'l-ʻAbbãs Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʻAbdillãh ibn Mihrãn al-Ãbī al-Azdī al-ʻArūḍī spoke with us in Marw (Marw al-Shãhjãn – one of the cities of Khurãsãn)." (*Kamãlu 'd-dīn*, vol.2, p.433; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.51, p.16.) And he also says: "Abu 'l-ʻAbbãs Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʻAbdillãh ibn Muḥammad ibn Mihrãn al-Ãbī al-ʻArūḍī, may Allãh be pleased with him, spoke with us in Marw" (*ibid.*, vol.2, p.476).

Now, ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq set out for Khurãsãn in 353/963, 367/978 and, for the third time, in 368/979, on his way to Transoxania. The prayer (*raḍī Allãhu ʻanhu*) of aṣ-Ṣadūq for him is evidence that he was in accordance with aṣ-Ṣadūq as far as his beliefs were concerned, and the *aḥãdith* which he narrates from him also shows that he was of the Imãmī sect. (*Maʻãlimu 'l-ʻulamã'*, p.20; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.12; *Mustadradu 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, p.713; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.58; *Muʻjam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, pp.93-94; *Ṭabaqãt aʻlãmi 'sh-Shīʻah*, 4th cent., p.26.) It should not be thought that aṣ-Ṣadūq uses the formula *raḍī Allãhu ʻanhu* solely for persons who have died, as is the usual custom. Elesewhere in his writings he uses this formula for Ṣãḥib ibn ʻAbbãd, for whom he wrote the *ʻUyūn akhbãr ar-Riḍã*, in which he appends this formular to mention of Ṣãḥib ibn ʻAbbãd's name, although he was still alive (see *ʻUyūnu 'l-akhbãr*, vol.1, pp.3, 4, 7-8).

The non-Imãmīs give the biography of a scholar in the sciences of the Qur'ãn who was Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Mihrãn, Abū Bakr al-Mihrãnī al-Iṣfahãnī an-Naysãbūrī (295/908–381/991). They commend him as being a scholar, a narrator of *ḥadīth*s, an ascetic, whose supplications were granted. al-Ḥãkim says that: "He was the leader of his time in recitation, and he was the most pious of the reciters we have seen." He set out in search of the sciences of the Qur'ãn and acquaintance with the reciters and their recitations to Iraq and ash-Shãm, even going to the scholarly cities of Iran, and he narrated from a number of famous traditionalists. al-Ḥãkin an-Naysãbūrī and others narrated from him. He wrote many books on the sciences of the Qur'ãn, among which were:

1. *Ghaybah fi 'l-qirã'ãt* (The Objective About the Recitations);
2. *Gharãibu 'l-qirãt* (The Curiosities of the Recitations);
3. *ash-Shãmil* (The Complete), which is a large book;
4. *Wuqūfu 'l-Qur'ãn* (Places of Pausing in [the Recitation of] the Qur'ãn);
5. *Ṭabaqãtu 'l*

qurrã' (The Chronology of the Reciters); and others.

(*Mukhtaṣar tãrīkh Naysãbūr*, p.76; *al-Ansãb*, 545/B; *al-Lubãb*, vol.3, p.272; *Ghãyatu 'n-nihãyah*, vol.1, pp.49-50; *Maʻrifatu 'l-qurrãi 'l-kibãr*, vol.1, pp.279-

80; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, p.165; Ibn Kathīr, vol.11, p.310; *Shadhrãtu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.98; *Tadhkiratu 'l-ḥuffãẓ*, vol.3, p.975; al-Isnawī, *Ṭabaqãtu 'sh-Shãfi'iy-yah*, vol.2, pp.399-400; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabã'*, vol.1, pp.411-13; [and many of his books are mentioned in it]; *Mir'ãtu 'l-jinãn*, vol.2, p.410; *al-'Ibar*, vol.3, p.16; *an-Nujūmu 'z-zãhirah*, vol.4, p.160; *al-Qãmūs*, vol.2, p.137; *Tãju 'l-'arūs*, vol.3, p.551; *al-A'lãm*, vol.1, p.112; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.1, pp.208-9).

It is my view that these two are one person, and that the difference in the numbering of the names of his ancestors is not proof of there being more than one. As for the short lineage, it is possible that it was abbreviated; just as we find that ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq has also shortened it. And the difference in patronymic between "Abū Bakr" and "Abu 'l-'Abbãs" is not so very important, because there are many persons who have two patronymics; perhaps one of the two patronymics was used among the Imãmiyyah, and the second among the others. It is extremely unlikely that two persons be found with such similarities of name and characteristics at the same time in the same place.

§26. Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad, ash-Shaykh Abū Bakr al-Khuzã'ī an-Naysãbūrī ar-Rãzī: A *mutakallim*, *faqīh*, scholar of *ḥadīth*, who studied with both *sharīf*s al-Murtaḍã and his brother ar-Raḍī, as well as with ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī.

In *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn* it says that he died *c.*480/1087. Among his writings is: *al-Miftãḥ fi 'l-uṣūl*.

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.205; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, pp.46-47; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.56; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, pp.89-90; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.2, p.314; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, p.488; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.14; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.21, p.313; *Hadiyyãtu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.1, p.80.]

§27. Aḥmad ibn Ibrãhīm ibn Nawbakht (4th/10th cent.): He was related by marriage to Abū Ja'far al-'Amrī an-Nãib (d. 305/917). as-Sayyid aṣ-Ṣadr says: "He was one of the most knowledgeable *mutakallim*s, and a leader of the scholars of *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* . . . One of the prominent members of the family of Nawbakht"; and other say the same.

[*Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, pp.372-4; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.7, pp.246-7.]

§28. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Dūl al-Qummī (d. 350/961): an-Najãshī says: "He wrote a hundred books", among them were: *al-Ḥadãiq* (The Gardens), which is a book about beliefs

for his son Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad concerning the Unity of God: *al-Ma‘rifah* (Knowledge of Divine Realities).
[an-Najãshī, p.70-71; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.1, pp.137-8; Ibn Dãwūd, p.39; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.30; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.63; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.86; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, pp.265-6; *Ṭabaqãt a‘lãmi 'sh-Shī‘ah*, vol.4, p.44; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.6, p.280; vol.21, p.243.]

§29. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Īsã, Abū Ja‘far al-Ash‘arī al-Qummī (3rd/9th cent.): The leader of the scholars of Qum, the most distinguished and learned in *fiqh* among them, no one could refute him. He wrote several books including: *Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd* (Book of Divine Unity).
[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.48-49; an-Najãshī, p.64; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.1, pp.163, 165; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.33-34; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.69; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.90-92; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, pp.303-8; *A‘yãnu 'sh-Shī‘ah*, vol.10, pp.51-56.]

§30. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Nūḥ, Abu 'l-‘Abbãs as-Sīrãfī al-Baṣrī (*c*.330/942– *c*.423/1032): Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He had a wide knowledge of traditions, was trustworthy in narration, except that wrong beliefs are attributed to him in *uṣūl (ad-dīn)*, such as what he says about seeing (, i.e., that Allãh, may He be exalted, can be seen), and so on." an-Najãshī gives as-Sīrãfī's biography, and calls him: Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn al-‘Abbãs ibn Nūḥ, and says: "He was trustworthy in (the narration of) *ḥadīth*, precise and skilful in what he used to narrate, a *faqīh*, very knowledgeable in *ḥadīth* and narrations. He was my teacher and *shaykh*; and from him I have benefited much." There is no mention in it of any accusation against him. ash-Shaykh Ãghã Buzurg mentions that his full name was: Abu 'l-‘Abbãs Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-‘Abbãs ibn Nūḥ as-Sīrãfī.
[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.61-62; *ar-Rijãl*, p.456; an-Najãshī, p.68; *Ma‘ãlimu 'l-‘ulamã’*, p.18 (the same as in aṭ-Ṭūsī); *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.1, p.167; Ibn Dãwūd, p.424, and al-‘Allãmah, p.18 (in these two the same as in aṭ-Ṭūsī); *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.26; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, pp.55, 71, and *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.19, 27-28 (the latter two relate that these were two names of the same person); *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.94-95 (he says that they were two persons); *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, p.364-5, and *Ṭabaqãt a‘lãmi 'sh-Shī‘ah*, 5th cent., pp.19-20 (these two also relate that there was only a single person).]

§31. ‘Alī ibn al-‘Abbãs al-Kharãdhīnī ar-Rãzī: an-Najãshī mentions him, and says that he was charged with extremism (*ghuluww*) and is un-

reliable. He also mentions that he wrote several books, among which was: *ar-Radd ‘ala 's-Salmãniyyah* (in *adh-Dharī‘ah*, it is given as Sulaymãniyyah) who were a group of extremists.

His *laqab* is given in *at-Tanqīḥ*, *al-Mu‘jam*, *adh-Dharī‘ah*, *an-Naḍd* and *at-Tawḍīḥ* as al-Kharãdhīnī, but in other sources it is given as al-Jarãdhīnī; however the first is correct, for it relates to Kharãdīn which is near Bukhãrah, and among those who came from here Hãrūn ibn Aḥmad, Abū Mūsã al-Kharãdīnī ar-Rãzī (d. 343/954) is mentioned. (*al-Ansãb*, vol.5, p.67; *al-Lubãb*, vol.1, p.428; *Mu‘jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.2, p.350; *Marãṣidu 'l-iṭṭilã‘*; vol.1, p.455.)
[For biographical references: an-Najãshī, p.193; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, p.203; Ibn Dãwūd, p.484; al-‘Allãmah, p.234; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.237; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.588; *Naḍdu 'l-īdãḥ*, p.223; *Tawdhīḥu 'l-ishtibãh*, p.231; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.294; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.12, p.73; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.10, p.201.]

§32. ‘Alī ibn ‘Abdillãh ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭãr al-Qummī: He was one of the companions of al-Jawãd, peace be upon him, (195/811–220/835). He was a trustworthy Imãmiyyah scholar and he wrote *Kitãbu 'l-Istiṭã‘ah ‘alã madhhab ahli 'l-‘adl* (Book Concerning the Ability to Act, According to the Opinions of the Believers in Justice).
[an-Najãshī, p.192; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijãl*, p.404; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, p.204; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.246-7; al-‘Allãmah, p.100; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.238; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.590; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.295; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.12, p.84; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.2, p.27.]

§33. ‘Alī ibn ‘Abdillãh ibn Wuṣayf, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥallã’ al-Baghdãdī an-Nãshi’ al-Aṣghar (271/884–365/975 or 366/976): A poet and a *mutakallim*. He studied under Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī (see §96). Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He was a *mutakallim*, an excellent poet; several writings are to his name. He argued according to (the sect of) the Ẓãhirites in *fiqh*." (This sect was related to Dãwūd ibn ‘Alī al-Iṣbahãnī al-Baghdãdī, the Ẓãhirī [201/816–270/884], so called because he used to take the Qur’ãn and the *Sunnah* according to their literal meaning [*ẓãhir*] and discard hermeneutics and any reliance on analogical reasoning [*qiyãs*] and subjective judgments *[ra’y*]). (Ibn) an-Nadīm says: "He was a poet who excelled in (composing verses about) the *Ahlu 'l-Bayt*, peace be upon them, and a skilful *mutakallim*." Ibn Khallikãn says: "He was the famous poet who beguiled charitable poets. He wrote many *qaṣīdah*s on the *Ahlu 'l-Bayt*. He

was a skilful *mutakallim* who gained his knowledge of *kalãm* from Abū Sahl Ismã'īl ibn 'Alī ibn Nawbakht, the *mutakallim*, and he (apparently means Ibn Nawbakht) was one of the great men among the Shī'ah; he has many writings to his name." al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Khãli' al-Umãwī al-Baghdãdī (333/945–422/1031), the poet; through whom Yãqūt narrates many details of the life of an-Nãshi' and in his biography says: "an-Nãshi' was extremely active in *kalãm* and disputation (*jadal*). He believed in the Imãmate, and he argued for it with outstanding eloquence. He passed his life eulogizing the *Ahlu 'l-Bayt*, till he was famous for believing in them, and his poems about them are innumerable." He had a dispute with Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (260/874–324/936), the Ash'arite leader, about predestination and free will, which became well known as a joke against al-Ash'arī (*Mu'jamu 'l-udabã'*, vol.5, p.237).
[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.115-6; an-Najãshī, p.208; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.56; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, pp.225-6; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, p.233; Ibn Dãwūd, p.253; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.245; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.607; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, pp.313-4; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.12, pp.237-8; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.208-9; *Tawḍīḥu 'l-ishtibãh*, p.236; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.5, pp.227-9; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.3, pp.229-30; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, pp.163, 211-2, 381; *al-Ghadīr*, vol.4, pp.24-33; Ibn Khallikãn, vol.3 pp.369-71; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.8, p.688; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabã'*, vol.5, pp.235-44; *Mir'ãtu 'l-jinãn*, vol.2, p.335; *al-Ansãb*, folio A/551; *al-Lubãb*, vol.3, p.289; *al-Ikmãl*, vol.7, p.371; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.4, p.238-40; *al-A'lãm*, vol.5, p.119; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.7, p.142.]

§34. 'Alī ibn Abī Sahl, Ḥãtim ibn Abī Ḥãtim, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Qazwīnī al-Baghdãdī (fl. 350/961): an-Najãshī says: "He was trustworthy, among our sectarians, and he heard a great many (traditions)." ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He wrote many books which are faultless and dependable", among which are:-

1. *at-Tawḥīd wa 'l-ma'rifah* (The Unity of God and Knowledge of Divine Realities);
2. *al-Ma'rifah* (Knowledge of Divine Realities),
3. *Maṣãbīḥu 'n-nūr* (The Lamps of Light);
4. *Maṣãbīḥ mawãzīni 'l-'adl* (The Lamps of the Scales of Divine Justice);
5. *al-Bayãn wa 'l-īḍãḥ* (The Elucidation and the Clarification);
6. *Ḥudūdu 'd-dīn* (The Limits of the Religion);
7. *Ṣifãtu 'l-anbiyã'* (The Attributes of the Prophets);
8. *ar-Radd 'alã ahli 'l-bida'* (The Refutation of the Innovators);

9. *ar-Radd ‘ala 'l-Qarãmiṭah* (The Refutation of the Karmathians).

[an-Najãshī, p.200; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijãl*, p.482; *al-Fihrist*, p.124; *Ma‘ãlimu 'l-‘ulamã’*, p.61; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, pp.159, 174; Ibn Dãwūd, p.239; al-‘Allãmah, p.95; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.225; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.551; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.172-3, 178; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.2, pp.263, 274; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.11, pp.250-1; *Ṭabaqãt a‘lãmi 'sh-Shī‘ah*, 4th cent., pp.176-7; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.3, p.175; vol.4, p.487; vol.6, p.300; vol.10, pp.186, 217; vol.15, p.44; vol.21, pp.92, 244; *Ḍiyãfatu 'l-ikhwãn*, pp.243-58.]

§35. ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad, Abu 'l-Qãsim al-‘Alawī al-Kūfī (d. 352/963): He lived in the region of Karmī near Fasã, one of the towns of S.E. Iran. He was a prolific author, *mutakallim*, a transmitter of *ḥadīth*; he was suspected of extremism (in his beliefs: *ghuluww*). (Ibn) an-Nadīm mentions him, and says: "He was one of the Imãmiyyah, one of their learned scholars." Among his writings are:-

1. *Taḥqīq mã allafahu 'l-Balkhī mina 'l-maqãlãt* (Criticism of What al-Balkhī [Abu 'l-Qãsim al-Ka‘bī, the Mu‘tazilite (273/886–319/931)] wrote in his book *al-Maqãlãt*);
2. *Tanãquḍ aqãwīli 'l-Mu‘tazilah* (The Inconsistency of the Declarations of the Mu‘tazilites);
3. *ar-Radd ‘alã man yaqūlū inna 'l-ma‘rifah min qibali 'l-mawjūd* (The Refutation of He Who Says that Knowledge is From the One Who Exists) (this can be read "*min qabli 'l-wujūd*," i.e., "before existence.");
4. *Mãhiyyatu 'n-nafs* (The Nature of the Soul); *ar-Radd ‘alã Arisṭãṭãlīs* (The Refutation of Aristotle); *Fasãd qawli 'l-Barãhimah* (The Mistake in what the Brahmins say);
5. *Fasãd aqãwīli 'l-Ismã‘īliyyah* (The Mistake in What the Ismã‘īlīs say); *ar-Radd ‘ala 'l-Ismã‘īliyyah fi 'l-ma‘ãd* (Refutation of the Ismã‘īlīs Concerning the Resurrection).

[an-Najãshī, pp.202-3; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijãl*, p.485; *al-Fihrist*, p.117; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, pp.162-3; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.243; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.226; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.553; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.265; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.11, pp.262-4; *Ta’sīsu 'sh-Shī‘ah*, p.379; *Mustadraku 'l-wsãil*, vol.3, pp.322-4; *Hadiyyatu 'l-‘ãrifīn*, vol.1, pp.680-1.]

§36. ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Khazzãz ar-Rãzī: Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah says: "An eminent *mutakallim*, he has written books on *kalãm*, and was knowledgeable in *fiqh*; he resided in Rayy and died there."

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.126; *ar-Rijãl*, p.479; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, pp.164, 193; al-'Allãmah, p.95; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.554; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.226.]

§37. 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad, Abu 'l-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭã'ī al-Jarmī al-Kūfī, known as **aṭ-Ṭãṭurī:** (Ibn) an-Nadīm when he lists the Imãmī *mutakallims* he said: "aṭ-Ṭãṭurī was one of the original *mutakallims*, and he was a Shī'ī . . . , and he changed sect within Shī'ism. Among his books is *Kitãbu 'l-Imãmah*, a fine book." (*al-Fihrist*, p.226)

an-Najãshī said: "He was a *faqīh*, a trustworthy narrator of *ḥadīth*. He was of those who narrated from the Imãm al-Kãẓim (*'a.s.*), and believed that the Imãmate stopped with him (*wa waqafa 'alayh*). He was one of the foremost among the Wãqifah and one of their leaders . . . He wrote several books, among which were: *at-Tawḥīd*, *al-Imãmah*, *al-Fiṭrah* (Original Human Nature), *al-Ma'rifah* (Human Understanding), and *al-Wilãyah*." (an-Najãshī, pp.254-5 [#.667]; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, p.183; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.118; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, 2nd ed., vo.11, pp.344-5.)

He was called aṭ-Ṭãṭurī because he sold a cloth known as aṭ-Ṭãṭurī. In Miṣr [Egypt] and Damascuss they called someone who sold *karbãs* (a fine cotton cloth) and white cloth aṭ-Ṭãṭurī, (*al-Ansãb*, vol.9, p.6; *al-Lubãb*, vol.2, p.268; *Tãju 'l-'arūs*, vol.3, p.259). This name does not appear in Dozy's *Dictiounaire détailé des nouns des vêtrements duez les Arabes.*

§38. 'Alī ibn Hibatillãh ibn 'Uthmãn ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrãhīm, ash-Shaykh Abu 'l-Ḥasan ibn ar-Rãiqah al-Mawṣilī: Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says: "He was a great man, memorizer of *ḥadīth*, pious and trustworthy." He wrote several books, including: *al-Mutamassik bi-ḥabli ãli 'r-rasūl* (Holding Fast to the Progeny of the Messenger) and *al-Yaqīn fī uṣūli 'd-dīn*. al-Mufīd 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmãn an-Naysãbūrī (see §10) narrated from his books from him.
[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.243; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.608; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.210; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.4, p.315; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.314; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.12, p.240; *al-Fawãidu 'r-Raḍawiyyah*, p.340; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.132; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.19, pp.69-70; vol.25, p.283.]

§39. 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsã ibn Ibrãhīm ibn al-Imãm Mūsã ibn Ja'far (peace be upon them both), as-Sayyid ash-Sharīf, Abu 'l-Qãsim al-Murtaḍã, 'Alamu 'l-Hudã, Dhu 'l-Majdayn al-Mūsawī al-Baghdãdī (355/966–436/1044): His father

Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī (304/916–400/ 1009) was the syndic of the Ṭãlibids (*naqību 'ṭ-Ṭãlibiyyīn*), and his mother, who was also the mother of his brother ar-Raḍī (§132), was as-Sayyidah Fãṭimah (d. 385/996), daughter of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan (an-Nãṣiru 'ṣ-Ṣaghīr [d. 368/978-9]), son of Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, Aḥmad (d. 311/923), son of al-Ḥasan an-Nãṣiru 'l-Kabīr al-Uṭrūsh (§65).

His pupil, Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī, says of him (and almost all his biographers quote him): "al-Murtaḍã was quite unique in a great many sciences, his pre-eminence ranged over many subjects, and he was outstanding in sciences such as *kalãm*, *fiqh*, *uṣūlu 'l-fiqh* (Principles of Jurisprudence), literature, grammar, rhetoric, poetry, philology, and more . . . He was the leading man of his age in culture and learning, a *mutakallim*, a *faqīh*, and one who combined all the sciences."
[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.99; *ar-Rijãl*, pp.484-5; al-'Allãmah, pp.94-95; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, p.189; Yãqūt, *Mu'jamu 'l-udabã'*, vol.5, p.173.]

Another of his pupil, an-Najãshī, says of him: "He acquired sciences which no-one in his time was able to acquire: he heard (the narration) of many *ḥadīth*, and he was a *mutakallim*, a poet, a man of letters, and he held an exalted position in knowledge and religion, and in the (affairs of) world." [*al-Fihrist*, pp.206-7; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, p.190.]

Non-Shī'ī biographers have also described him. His contemporary, Abū Manṣūr 'Abdu 'l-Malik ibn Muḥammad ath-Tha'ãlibī (350/961–429/1038), one of the most important philologists and men of letters, said: "The leading position of the day in Baghdad as far as honour, nobility, knowledge, letters, learning and generosity were concerned belonged to al-Murtaḍã. His poetry was of the utmost degree of excellence." (*Tatimmatu 'l-yatīmah*, vol.1, p.53). Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Bassãn al-Andalusī (477/1048–542/1147), the minister, one of the leading literati poets and historians of his day, wrote in his book *adh-Dhakhīrah*: "This Sharīf was one of the leading people of Iraq. It is clear that (a great number of students) frequented him and agreed upon his (being their mentor). Men of knowledge resorted to him (with their questions), and great scholars learnt from him; he was the principle figure (*ṣãḥib*) in the branches (of science and knowledge) in Iraq, and he brought together both those (students) who were of an independent frame of mind and those who shared the opinions of others. He was one of those whose reputation spread far and wide, and his poetry was well known. His good deeds and character and his writings were praised for their nearness to the way of Allãh, as were his works on the religion and his compositions on the laws of the Muslims.

These are some of the things which show that he was a branch from the roots (of his family, i.e., the Prophet and his descendents), and one of the members of (that) exalted house." (Ibn Khallikãn, vol.3, pp.313-4; *Mir'ãtu 'l-jinãn*, vol.3, p.56; *Shadharãtu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.257; *ad-Darajãtu 'r-rafī'ah*, p.459.)

Ibnu 'l-Athīr considered him the Renewer of the Imãmī religion at the end (*ra's*) of four hundred years (the beginning of the 5th/12th century), after counting al-Kulaynī (§ 147) the renewer at the end of three hundred years, when he was commenting on the narration from the Messenger of Allãh, may Allãh bless him and his family and grant him peace: "Allãh will send to this community at the end of every hundred years someone who will renew its religion". (See *Jãmi'u 'l-uṣūl*, vol.11, p.323; and, concerning the *ḥadīth*, see: Abū Dãwūd, *as-Sunan*, vol.4, p.109; *al-Mustadrak 'ala 'ṣ-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol.4, pp.522-3; *Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.2, pp.61-62; *Manaqību 'sh-Shãfi'ī*, vol.1, pp.53-57.)

"al-Murtaḍã was the leader of the Imãmiyyah." (Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansãbi 'l-Arab*, p.63.)

"He was foremost in the science of *kalãm*, and in letters, poetry and rhetoric; he wrote many works, and was thoroughly familiar with the various branches of knowledge." (Ibn Khallikãn, vol.3, p.313; al-Khaṭīb, *Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.11, p.402; adh-Dhahabī, *al-'Ibar*, vol.3, p.186; *Mīzãnu 'l-i'tidãl*, vol.3, p.124; Ibn 'Abdi 'l-Ḥayy, *Shadharãtu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.256; al-Qifṭī, *Inbãhu 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.249; as-Suyūṭī, *Baghyatu 'l-wu'ãt*, vol.2, p.162; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *an-Nujūmu 'z-zãhirah*, vol.5, p.39; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lãm*, vol.5, p.89; Kaḥḥãlah, *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.7, p.81.)

"He was the first who made his house the house of knowledge (*dãru 'l-'ilm*) and to appoint it for debating" (*Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.4, p.223). However, al-Murtaḍã was preceded in this by his teacher al-Mufīd – as was mentioned in his biography – except that the explanation may be that al-Murtaḍã made his house a *madrasah* in which debaters assembled for scientific discussions, although not in his presence.

"There was debating in his presence from every sect, while he expounded the Imãmiyyah religion." (*al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.120; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.53.)

"On top of the leading position (he held) in this world, he had much knowledge and was very active, although he led a simple life. He preserved in recitation of the Qur'ãn, spent the night standing up (in prayer), and caused (others) to profit from (his) knowledge; he liked nothing more than knowledge, together with eloquence and purity of language" (*Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.4, p.223). His state at the time of death is related to us by Abu 'l-Qãsim ibn Burhãn, 'Abdu 'l-Wãḥid ibn 'Alī al-Asadī al-'Ukbarī, then al-

Baghdãdī first a Ḥanbalī then a Ḥanafī (*c.*375/985–456/1064): "I came into ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã Abu 'l-Qãsim al-'Alawī when he was sick, and he turned his face towards the wall. Then I heard him say: 'Abū Bakr and 'Umar, they ruled and were just, they were asked for mercy and they showed mercy, but I say: "They turned away after they had accepted Islam."' I stood up to leave but had not reached the threshold when I heard the sound of mourning." (al-Muntaẓim, vol.8, p.126; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.53; *Mu'jamu 'l-'udabã'*, vol.5, p.176; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.4, p.224).

ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã studied with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd (§144), who was his teacher in *kalãm*, *fiqh*, *uṣūlu 'l-fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, and other subjects; he terminated his studies with him, having acquired from him all that he knew. He had other teachers, ten of whom have been listed in *al-Ghadīr* (vol.4, pp.269-70), and the introduction to *al-Biḥãr* (vol.1, p.127), although some have counted sixteen (see the introduction to *al-Intiṣãr*, pp.14-16). ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã and his brother ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī (§132) studied with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd when they were young, and their education at his hands lasted many years, (*Sharḥ Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd*, vol.1, p.41; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.4, p.223; *ad-Darajãtu 'r-rafī'ah*, p.459; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.285).

al-Ḥãkim al-Jushamī, Abū Sa'd, al-Muḥassin ibn Muḥammad ibn Karrãmah al-Bayḥaqī al-Mu'tazilī az-Zaydī said (and al-Imãm al-Mahdī az-Zaydī al-Mu'tazilī, Ibn Murtaḍã, repeated from him): "Among the companions of Qãḍī al-Quḍãt ('Abdu 'l-Jabbãr) who studied with him in Baghdãd on his return from *ḥajj* was ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã, Abu 'l-Qãsim 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī; and he also studied with Abū Isḥãq an-Naṣībī (see his biography in no.124/bk.63), Abū 'Abdillãh al-Marzubãnī (Muḥammad ibn 'Imrãn al-Mu'tazilī, the man of letters and scholar [297/910–384/ 994]), and with Ibnu 'l-Mu'allim (ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd). He tended towards *irjã'*, but he was Imãmī. Since his time is close (to ours) and his memory is well preserved (among us), there is no need for us to say much about him" (*Sharḥu 'l-'uyūn*, p.383; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.198). I have not found his period of study with al-Qãḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbãr and-Naṣībī mentioned except by these two authors, just as I have found no reference to his tendency towards *irjã'* except by them. However, his brother, ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī did study with al-Qãḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbãr (§132).

Although ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã studied *kalãm* under ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd, he disagreed with him on certain points, as scholars tend to differ in their opinions although they may all be sincere in their pursuance of knowledge and their determination to see it perfected. as-Sayyid Raḍiyyu 'd-

Dīn ʻAlī ibn Mūsã, Ibn Ṭãwūs al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥillī (589/1193–664/1266) said: "I have found that the Shaykh who is knowledgeable in many sciences, Quṭbu 'd-Dīn ar-Rãwandī, whose name is Saʻīd ibn Hibatillãh (d. 573/1187, one of the earliest commentators on *Nahju 'l-balãghah*) wrote a small book, which I have with me now, on the new divergence between ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd and al-Murtaḍã. These two were among the greatest men of their time especially ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd. He mentions in the little book about ninety-five subjects in the science of *uṣūl* (*uṣūlu 'l-ʻaqãid*, the Principles of Faith, i.e., *kalãm*) in which there was disagreement between them, and after this he says: 'If I were to write down the details of what they disagreed about, it would make the book excessively long.'" (*Kashfu 'l-maḥajjah li-thamarati 'l-muhjah*, p.20; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.127.)

As far as the standing of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã in *kalãm* and debate is concerned, we need look no further than the evidence of ash-Shaykh Abū Isḥãq Ibrãhīm ibn ʻAlī ash-Shirãzī al-Ashʻarī ash-Shãfiʻī (393/1003–476/1083), one of the most prominent figures in *fiqh*, *kalãm*, debate and dispute (*munãzirah*), who lived in the time of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã. He said: "ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã was a calm person who spoke with the language of science; wherever he aimed his words they would dart out like an arrow released from the bow – if they struck, they dealt a fatal blow, and if they missed they wounded.

When the people started to hold forth on their ideas,
He would be on one side of (the dispute)*, and* (all of) *the people on the other.*"

[*Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.4, p.224; Introduction to al-Mutaḍã's *Diwãn*, vol.1, p.24.]

ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã wrote many works. al-ʻAllãmah al-Ḥillī (648/1250–726/1325) said: "He has many writings to his name; the Imãmiyyah have profited from his books from his time, may Allãh have mercy on him, up to this, our time, being the year 693/1294; he has been their support and their teacher" (*Khulãṣatu 'l-aqwãl*, p.95).

His pupil, al-Buṣrawī (§ 143), gave a list of his writings, and the following are those of his books, which are relevant to our topic:-

1. *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī uṣūli 'd-dīn* (The Summary of the Principles of the religion). In *adh-Dharīʻah* (vol.22, p.210-1), it is said that it is a large book in four parts. ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī and Ibn Shahrãshūb both say that he never completed it.
2. *adh-Dhakhīrah fī uṣūli 'd-dīn* (The Treasury of the Princiles of the Religion) or (*adh-dhakhīrah fī ʻilmi 'l-kalãm* [The Treasury of the Science of Theology]: *adh-Dharīʻah*, vol.10, pp.11-12). ash-Shaykh aṭ-

Ṭūsī says it was complete.

3. *al-Uṣūlu 'l-i'tiqãdiyyah* (Religious Principles); (printed in the second series of *Nafãisu 'l-makhṭūṭãt*, Baghdãd, 1954).
4. *Jumalu 'l-'ilm wa 'l-'amal* (The Summation of Knowledge and Action), (printed).
5. *Inqãdhu 'l-bashar mina 'l-jabr wa 'l-qadar* (The Deliverance of Man from Fate and Destiny), (printed).
6. *al-Masãilu 'l-kalãmiyyah*.
7. *Majmū'ah fī funūn min 'ilmi 'l-kalãm* (Compilation of the Branches of the Science of Theology), (printed in the fifth series of *Nafãisu 'l-makhṭūṭãt*, Baghdãd, 1375/1955. Perhaps it is the same as no.6).
8. *Mas'alah (Risãlah) fi 'l-irãdah* (On the Will).
9. *Mas'alah (Risãlah) ukhrã fi 'l-irãdah* (Another Treatise: On the Will).
10. *Kitãbu 'l-Wa'īd* (On the Threat).
11. *al-Ḥudūd wa 'l-ḥaqãiq* (Definitions and Realities).

Alphabetical dictionaries of philosophy, *kalãm* and *fiqh*, Technical terms are listed and then he explains them briefly. Printed in *Yãd-nãme Shaykh Ṭūsī,* ed. M. Wã'iẓ-zãdeh, University of Mashhad, School of Theology and Islamic Studies (Iran), vol.2, pp.150-61. Another treatise bearing the same name comes in the same volume, pp.728-41; the publisher is of the opinion that it is copied from the words of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã.

12. *Tatimmat anwã'i 'l-a'rãḍ* (The Completion of 'The Accidental [Aristotelian] Categories') – from the book *The Accidental Categories* of Abu 'r-Rashīd an-Naysãbūrī.
13. *Taqrību 'l-uṣūl* (Clarifacation of the Principles).
14. *Naqḍ Maqãlãt Ibn 'Adiyy (fī-mã yatanãhã,* according to al-Buṣrawī's list) (Refutation of Ibn 'Adiyy's Treatise, Concerning What is Finite). This is the same book, which is called in *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.237: *ar-Radd 'alã Yaḥyã ibn 'Adiyy an-Naṣrãnī fī-mã yatanãhã wa mã lã yatanãhã* (Refutation of Yaḥyã ibn 'Adiyy, the Christian, Concerning What is Finite and What is Infinite).

(Abū Zakariyyã Yaḥyã ibn 'Adiyy an-Naṣrãnī al-Baghdãdī [280/894–363/975] was a philosopher and a student of al-Fãrãbī; he became the leading logician and philosopher. He did many translations from the Syriac, and was himself the author of many works. *al-A'lãm*, vol.9, pp.194-5; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.13, pp.211-2.)

15. *Ṭabī'atu 'l-Muslimīn* (according to an-Najãshī) (The Nature of the Muslims); = *Ṭabī'atu 'l-Islãm* (according to *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.392);

= *ar-Radd 'alã Yaḥyã ibn 'Adiyy fī mas'alah sammã-hã Ṭabī'atu 'l-Muslimīn* (according to *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.237) (Refutation of Yaḥyã ibn 'Adiyy Concerning a Treatise Called "The Nature of the Muslims").

In al-Buṣrawī's list we find: *ar-Radd 'alã Yaḥyã ibn 'Adiyy fī mas'alah sammã-hã "Ṭabī'atu 'l-mumkin"* (. . . "The Nature of the Possible"). This would seem to be the correct title.

16. *ar-Radd 'alã Ibn 'Adiyy fī ḥudūthi 'l-ajsãm* (Refutation of Ibn 'Adiyy Concerning the Coming into Being of Bodies); = *ar-Radd 'alã Yaḥyã ibn 'Adiyy fī i'tirãḍihi dalīla 'l-muwaḥḥidīn fī ḥudūthi 'l-ajsãm* (. . . Concerning His Objection to the Proof of the Professors of God's Unity of the Coming into Being of Bodies), (*adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.237; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.392).
17. *ar-Radd 'alã man athbata ḥudūthi 'l-ajsãm mina 'l-jawãhir* (Refutation of Those Who [Seek to] Prove the Coming into Being of Bodies from Substances).
18. *Jawãbu 'l-malãḥidah fī qidami 'l-'ãlam* (Reply to the Heretics Concerning the Eternity of the World).
19. *al-Fuṣūlu 'l-mukhtãrah mina 'l-'uyūn wa 'l-maḥãsin* (Select Chapters on Excellent and Beautiful Qualities), (see § 144/bk.1&2).
20. *Kitãb fī aqwãli 'l-munajjimīn* (Book Concerning What the Astrologers Say); = *an-Nujūm wa 'l-munajjimīn* (Stars and Astrologers) (*al-Ghadīr*, vol.4, p.265; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.392); = *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-munajjimīn* (Refutation of the Strologers). (*adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.229, where the author claims to have a copy.)
21. *Tanzīhu 'l-anbiyã' wa 'l-aimmah 'alayhimu 's-salãm* (The Defending of the Prophets and Imãms [from Faults Attributed to them], Peace be Upon Them.)
22. *Ma'na 'l-'iṣmah* (The Meaning of Impeccability).
23. *Risãlah fi 'l-'iṣmah* (On Impeccability). (Printed together with al-Murtaḍã's *al-Amãlī*, Egypt, vol.2, pp.347-8.)
24. *Mas'alah fī tafḍīli 'l-anbiyã' 'ala 'l-malãikah* (Treatise Concerning the Pre-eminence of the Prophets over the Angels). (Printed together with *al-Amãlī*, vol.2, pp.333-9.)
25. *al-Man' 'an tafḍīli 'l-malãikah 'ala 'l-anbiyã'* The Obstacle to the Pre-eminence of the Angels Over the Prophets). (Printed in *Arba' rasãil li 'sh-Sharīfi 'l-Murtaḍã*, an-Najaf al-Ashraf [Iraq], 1386/1966.)
26. *ash-Shãfī (fi 'l-imãmah wa ibṭãl ḥujaji 'l-'ãmmah)* (The Restorative [Concerning the Imãmate and the Invalidation of the Arguments of the non-Shī'ah]).

This is the refutation of the book on the Imãmate from al-Qãḍī ‘Abdu 'l-Jabbãr al-Mu‘tazilī's famous encyclopaedic work: *al-Mughnī fī mabãḥithi 't-tawḥid wa 'l-‘adl*, 16 vols., Cairo, 1960-5.

27. *Jawãb ba‘ḍi 'l-Mu‘tazilah fī anna 'l-imãmah lã takūnu illã bi 'n-naṣṣ* (Reply to Some of the Mu‘tazilah Concerning [Their Denial] that the Imãmate Cannot Exist without a Textual Warrant). In *adh-Dharī‘ah* (vol.5, p.179). "It extends to a hundred pages."
28. *al-Masãilu 'l-bãhirah fi 'l-‘itrati 'ṭ-ṭãhirah* (The Dazzling Treatise on the Pure Household).
29. *al-Muqni‘ fi 'l-ghaybah* (The Sufficiency Concerning the Occultation).
30. *al-Wãjiz fi 'l-ghaybah* (The Summary of the Occultation). (Printed in *Kalimãtu 'l-muḥaqqiqīn* – lithograph, Iran, 1315 [1897-8], pp.195-7, under the title: *Risãlah fī ghaybati 'l-ḥujjah* – [Treatise on the Occultation of the (Twelfth) Divine Proof]). Another lithographed edition was printed in Iran in 1319/1901 in the margin of ash-Shaykh Muḥammad Kãzim al-Khurãsãnī's glosses on Shaykh al-Anṣãrī's *Rasãil*.
31. *al-Intiṣãr li-mã infaradati 'l-imãmiyyah bih (fi 'l-fiqh)* (The Triumph in that by which the Imãmiyyah are without Parallel). (Printed)
32. *al-Muwaḍḍiḥ ‘an jihati i‘jãzi 'l-Qur'ãn* (The Clarification Concerning the Inimitability of the Qur'ãn).
33. *an-Naqḍ (ar-Radd) ‘alã Ibn Jinnī fi ('l-ḥikãyah wa 'l-maḥkiyy)* (Refutation of Ibn Jinnī Concerning the Original [Qur'ãn] and the Words [of the Qur'ãn and Their Eternity]).

(Abu 'l-Fatḥ ‘Uthmãn ibn Jinnī al-Mawṣilī, subsequently al-Baghdãdī [*c.*327/939–392/1002], one of the leading figures in literature, grammar and language.)

34. *al-Ghurar wa 'd-durar* (The distinguishing Marks and Pearls) = *al-Amãlī*, (printed).

These are discourses dictated by ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã: *tafsīr* (Qur'ãnic Commentary), *kalãm*, language, literature, and grammar. Ibn Khallikãn, al-Qifṭī and Yãfi‘ī say: "It is an enjoyable book proving great erudition and wide knowledge from study of the sciences." (*Wafayãtu 'l-a‘yãn*, vol.3, p.313; *Inbãhu 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.250; *Mir'ãtu 'l-jinãn*, vol.3, p.55.) Also see the description by the book's editor, Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrãhīm, in the Introduction to *al-Amãlī*, vol.1, pp.18-19.

35. *Ibṭãlu 'l-qiyãs* (Invalidity of Analogical Reasoning [in law]. Mentioned by Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrãhīm in the Introduction to *al-Amãlī*, vol.1, p.12. He says: "adh-Dhahabī mentions it in *Siyar a‘lãmi 'n-nubalã'*."

36. *Mas'alah fi 't-tawbah* (Concerning Repentance).

* * * * *

ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã also composed many collections of answers to questions, which he used to receive. We made reference to them in the course of our explanation of the "answers" of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd.

1. *al-Masãilu 'l-Wãsiṭiyyah*, comprising 100 questions.

Wãsiṭ was one of the most famous Islamic cities in Iraq, and there are still traces of its remains.

2. *al-Masãilu 'l-Bãdarãiyyãt*, comprising 24 questions.

Bãdarãyã was a town in the neighbourhood of Wãsiṭ, near Bandanījīn – now Mandalī – in Iraq: *Mu'jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.1, pp.316-7; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp.63, 64, 80.

3-5. *Masãilu 'l-Mawṣilīyyãt.*

(1st series) three questions on Trust (*al-i'timãd*), the Threat (*al-wa'īd*) and Analogical Reasoning (*al-qiyãs*).

(2nd series) one hundred and ten questions on *fiqh*, which reached ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã in the year 420/1029 (*al-Intiṣãr*, p.6).

(3rd series) nine questions on *fiqh*.

Mawṣil = Mosul, Iraq.

6. *al-Masãilu 'ṭ-Ṭūsiyyah*, comprising five questions.

Ṭūs was one of the most famous cities of Khurãsãn.

7. *al-Masãilu 'l-Jurjãniyyah*.
8. *al-Masãilu 'd-Daylamiyyah*.
9. *al-Masãilu 'r-Rãziyyah*, comprising fourteen questions about *kalãm* matters.

Rayy was one of the greatest cities in central Iran. Its remains have been obliterated by the construction of Tehran and its suburbs.

10. *al-Masãilu 'd-Dimashqiyyah*, also called, the second series of *al-Masãilu 'n-Nãṣiriyyah*.
11. *al-Masãilu 'ṣ-Ṣaydãwiyyah*.

Ṣãydã: one of the most famous cities in Shãm (now in Lebanon).

12-14. *al-Masãilu 'l-Ḥalabiyyah*.

(1st series) three questions: (2nd series) also three questions; and (3rd series) thirty-three questions.

Ḥalab: one of the most famous cities in Shãm (now in Syria).

15-18. *al-Masãilu 'ṭ-Ṭarãbulusīyyãt* (Ṭarãbulus = Tripoli [Lebanon]).

(1st series) seventeen questions; (2nd series) twelve questions; and (3rd series) twenty-three questions, wich arrived in Sha'bãn 427/Feb. 1036. There were three questions, and maybe a fourth, from ash-Shaykh Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrãhīm ibn al-Ḥasan al-Abãnī who lived in Ṭarãbulus: *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-*

Shī‘ah, 5th cent., pp.1-2; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.5, p.226; (4th series) twenty-five questions. All of them concerned matters of *kalãm*.

19. *al-Masãilu 'l-Mayyãfãriqiyyah*.

Either one hundred or sixty-six questions. For details of Mayyãfãriqīn, (see § 144), and the 16th set of "answers" by ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd.

20-22. *al-Masãilu 'l-Miṣriyyãt*.

(1st series) comprising five questions. According to al-Buṣrawī's list (Introduction to *Dīwãnu 'l-Murtaḍã*, vol.1, p.128), the form of the questions was as follows:-

a) Is the knowledge which comes to the one possessed of intellect from the perception of sensory things caused by perception or is it by (a kind of) association?
b) Can the way to the knowledge that fire does certain things be the same way (as to the knowledge) that fire is an agent?
c) Do all proofs rely on necessary knowledge, or are there two kinds of proofs?
d) Is it possible that actions are performed by persons with intellect because motives prompt them and obstacles hinder them, but without their knowing these motives and obstacles?
e) Concerning the nature of the contrariety of black and white.

(2nd series) comprising nine questions; (3rd series) comprising seven questions.

23. *al-Masãilu 'r-Ramliyyãt.*

ar-Ramlah is the town in Palestine, which is still known today. These are seven questions:-

a) On the creation and the Creator.
b) On substance and the (permissibility of) calling (something) non-existent a substance.
c) On the infallibility of the Messenger, may Allãh bless him and his Household and grant them peace, with respect to forgetfulness (*sahw*).
d) On man.
e) On the *mutawãtirīn* (?) And two questions to do with some matters of *fiqh*.

24. *al-Masãilu 'l-Muḥammadiyyãt*, comprising three questions.

25. *al-Masãilu 's-Sallãriyyah*.

Qestions posed by his pupil Sallãr ibn ‘Abdi 'l-‘Azīz (see § 155).

26-27. *al-Masãilu 'r-Rassiyyah*.

Answers to questions put by as-Sayyid al-Fãḍil Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Muḥassin

ibn Muḥammad ibn an-Nãṣir al-Ḥusaynī ar-Rassī.

(1st series) twenty-eight questions which ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã answered in 428/1037; (2nd series) five questions, (see *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.5, pp.221-2).

28. *al-Masãilu 't-Tabbãniyyah*.

Questions put by at-Tabbãn (see § 111).

The most important biographical references to ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã can be found in the following:-

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.99-100; *ar-Rijãl*, pp.484-5; an-Najãshī, pp.206-7; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, pp.61-63; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, pp.189-91; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, pp.284-5; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.11, pp.394-8; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.182-5; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, pp.515-7; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.4, pp.294-312; *ad-Darajãtu 'r-rafī'ah*, pp.458-66; *Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.11, pp.402-3; Ibn Khallikãn, vol.3, pp.313-7; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabã'*, vol.5, pp.173-9; *Inbãhu 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, pp.249-50; *Bughyatu 'l-wu'ãt*, vol.2, p.162; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, pp.120-6; *Shadharãtu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, pp.256-8; *Mir'ãtu 'l-jinãn*, vol.3, pp.55-57; *Līsãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.4, pp.223-4; *al-A'lãm*, vol.5, p.89; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.7, pp.81-82; 'Abdu 'r-Razzãq Muḥyi 'd-Dīn, *Adabu 'l-Murtaḍã*; *Haddiyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.1, p.688; *Rijãl Baḥru 'l-'ulūm*, vol.3, pp.87-155; *'Umdatu 'l-'ṭ-ṭalib*, pp.193-5; *al-Ghadīr*, vol.4, pp.262-99; Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrãhīm, Introduction to *al-Amãlī*, vol.1, pp.3-26; ash-Shaykh Muḥammad Riḍã ash-Shabībī, Muṣṭafã Jawãd and Rashīd aṣ-Ṣaffãr, Introduction to *al-Intiṣãr* 61 pages].

§40. 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Mūsã, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ibn Bãbawayh al-Qummī (*c.*260/874–329/941): He was the father of ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq. ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He was a *faqīh*, revered and trustworthy." an-Najãshī says: "The chief scholar among the scholars of Qum in his time, the foremost among them, a *faqīh* among them, and trustworthy."

He wrote many books, including: *Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd* (Book on Divine Unity), *Kitãbu 'l-Imãmah wa 'l-baṣīrah* (*at-tabsirah* according to an-Najãshī) *mina 'l-ḥayrah* (Book on the Imãmate and Enlightenment from Perplexity).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijãl*, p.482; *al-Fihrist*, p.119; an-Najãshī, pp.198-9; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.58; *Majma'u 'r-rijal*, vol.4, pp.187-8; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.241-2; al-'Allãmah, p.94; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.232-3; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.574; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.283-4; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.11, pp.391-3; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, pp.227-9.]

§41. 'Alī ibn Ibrãhīm ibn Hãshim al-Qummī (fl. 307/920): an-Najãshī says: "He is trustworthy in *ḥadīth*, reliable, dependable, excellent in his religion;

he learned many *aḥãdīth*, and he wrote books." (Ibn) an-Nadīm says: "He was a scholar and *faqīh*." He was instructed by his father, and his father was the pupil of Yūnus ibn ‘Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn (see §165), (aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijãl*, p.369).

He wrote several books including, *at-Tawḥīd wa 'sh-shirk* (Divine Unity and Associating Others with Allãh), *Risãlah fī ma‘nã Hishãm wa Yūnus* (Treaties on the subject of Hishãm and Yūnus) in which he tried to refute the false accusations and opinions that had been levelled against Hishãm and Yūnus ibn ‘Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn.

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.115; an-Najãshī, pp.197-8; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.277; *Ma‘ãlimu 'l-‘ulamã’*, p.55; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, pp.152-3; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.260; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.11, pp.207-8; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.4, p.486; vol.21, p.276; *Mu‘jamu 'l-udabã’*, vol.5, p.77; *Mu‘jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.7, p.9; *Hadiyyatu 'l-‘ãrifīn*, vol.1, p.678.]

§42. ‘Alī ibn Ismã‘īl ibn Shu‘ayb ibn Mītham ibn Yaḥyã at-Tammãr, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Mīthamī al-Baṣrī: His name is very often abbreviated to ‘Alī ibn Mītham. He was one of the companions of Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam. an-Najãshī said: "He was from Kūfah and settled in Baṣrah [at the end of his life], and he was one of the best *mutakallim*s among our co-sectarians. He debated with Abu 'l-Hudhayl and an-Naẓẓãm. He held debating sessions and wrote books." He held debates with *mulḥid*s and Christians. [Ibn] an-Nadīm said about him that he was "the first among the Imãmīs to hold discourse (*ukallima*)," but this is an error, for, as pointed out previously, others before him were noted for their *kalãm*, in particular Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam. Ibn Shahrãshūb said: "He was the first to have written about the Imãmate, [a book entitled] *al-Kãmil*." It would seem that Ibn Shahrãshūb meant that he was the first to have written a book on the Imãmate with this title, for writings prior to this by, for example, Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam and Mu’minu 'ṭ-Ṭãq, are mentioned. It would appear that, over and above the scholarly discussions, he had friendly relations with an-Naẓẓãm, Thumãmah bin Ashras, and other leading Mu‘tazilīs, and that they would gather together at friendly gatherings to listen to poetry and stories in Baghdad and in gardens in the surrounding countryside. al-Khaṭīb briefly mentions this, saying that his only purpose is to confirm the presence of an-Naẓẓãm in Baghdad (*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.6, p.98); however, although he gives the biographies of an-Naẓẓãm and Thamãmah, he omits that of ‘Alī ibn Mītham. an-Naẓẓãm said about ‘Alī ibn Mītham: "He was one of the *shaykh*s and *mutakallim*s of the Rãfiḍah." (Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, vol.4, p.181)

He lived up to the time of the ʻAbbãsid Caliph al-Muʻtaṣim (179/795–r. 218/833–227/841). This is the same person who is refered to as al-Mītham in *aḥãdīth* in *al-Kãfī* (vol.1, pp.100-1 [in Eng. transl. =272]) and *at-Tawḥīd* (pp.113-4 [=13]), not his nephew, Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ismãʻīl al-Mīthamī – as al-Fayḍ al-Kãshãnī believed (*al-Wãfī*, vol.1, p.89) – who was not a *mutakallim*. ʻAlī ibn Mītham was of the family of Mītham ibn Yaḥyã at-Tammãr, one of the closest companions of Amīr al-Muʻminīn, peace be upon him; "The Banū Mītham combined all the best qualities of the Shīʻah." (*al-Ansãb*, f. 547 v; *al-Lubãb*, vol.3, p.281). *Muḥaddīth*s and *mutakallim*s are to be found in the generations of this tribe down to the third century. He wrote two works on *kalãm*:-

1. *Kitãbu 'l-Imãmah* (Book on the Imãmate); and
2. *Kitãb majãlis Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam* (Book on the Debating Sessions of Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam).

When he settled in Baṣrah towards the end of his life, he took a number of students, among whom was Abū ʻUthmãn al-Mãzinī, whose biography is given below [§52].

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.113; *ar-Rijãl*, p.383; an-Najãshī, p.251; [=661]; [Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.223; Ibn Shahrãshūb, *Maʻãlimu 'l-ʻulamã'*, p.55; *Majmaʻu 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, p.167; Abū Dãwūd, p.238; al-ʻAllãmah, p.93; *Jãmiʻu 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, pp.558-9; *Muʻjam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.9, p.293; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.4, pp.265-6; *Hadiyyatu 'l-ʻãrifīn*, vol.1, p.669. For his debates with Christians, refer to: *al-Fuṣūlu 'l-mukhtãrah*, vol.1, p.32; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.10, p.372; and for debates with the *mulḥid*s concerning *tawḥīd*, see: *al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.46; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.10, p.374; and for debates with Abu 'l-Hudhayl, see: *al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.6, 10-11, 55; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.10, pp.370-2; and before the Amīr of Baṣrah: *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.4, pp.265-6.]

§43. ʻAlī ibn Manṣūr, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Kūfī, subsequently **al-Baghdãdī:** He was a *mutakallim* from among the pupils of Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam, and Yūnus ibn ʻAbdi 'r-Raḥmãn narrated from him. He wrote several books, including *Kitãbu 't-Tadbīr fi 't-tawḥīd wa 'l-imãmah* (Book of Directions Concerning Divine Unity and the Imãmate). Both al-Ashʻarī and ash-Shahrastãnī mention him among the Imãmiyyah *mutakallim*s who were authors.

[an-Najãshī, p.189; al-Kishshī, pp.256-78; *Majmaʻu 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, p.225; vol.6, p.216; Ibn Dãwūd, p.244; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.244; *Jãmiʻu 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.603; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.310; *Muʻjam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.12, pp.204-5; *adh-Dharīʻah*, vol.4, p.18; al-Ashʻarī, *Maqãlãtu 'l-Islãmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.127; ash-Shahrastãnī, *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, p.190.

§44. ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī: an-Najãshī says: "He was a *faqīh*, a *mutakallim*, one of the prominent figures among our co-sectarians. Some of our associates have mentioned to me that he has a book on the Imãmate to his name."
[an-Najãshī, p.223; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, p.223; Ibn Dãwūd, p.251; al-‘Allãmah, p.101; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.243; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.601; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.309; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.12, p.192; *Ṭabaqãt a‘lami 'sh-Shī‘ah*, 4th cent., p.206.]

§45. ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-‘Abbãs ibn Fusãnjus, Abu 'l-Ḥasan an-Naḥwī (d. *c*.400/1009): an-Najãshī says: "He was a scholar in *ḥadīth*, in poetry, in genealogy, in traditions, in biographies, and no-one the like of him was seen in his time. He was completely of the Imãmī faith, although prior to that he had been a Mu‘tazilī and then turned back [from this]; he was too famous for his life to need setting forth." He mentions among his books:-

1. *ar-Radd ‘ala 'l-falãsifah* (Refutation of the Philosophers);
2. *ar-Radd ‘alã ahli 'l-manṭiq* (Refutation of the Logicians);
3. *ar-Radd ‘ala 'l-munajjimīn* (Refutation of the Astrologers).

[an-Najãshī, pp.205-6; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, p.219; Ibn Dãwūd, p.250; al-‘Allãmah, p.101; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.242; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.599; *Tawḍīḥu 'l-ishtibãh*, p.234; *Naḍdu 'l-īḍãḥ*, p.229; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.306; *Mu‘jam rijãl 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.12, pp.163-4; *Ta’sīsu 'sh-Shī‘ah lī ‘ulūmi 'l-Islãm*, p.99; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.10, pp.188, 217, 229-30.]

This is all I have come across concerning him in those biographies I have consulted, although it can be added that he was from a celebrated family whose members took over the matters of the *dīwãn* and government ministry throughout the 4th and 5th/10th and 11th centuries. They were originally from Shīrãz (Iran), and they migrated with the Būyid family to Iraq and took over government matters for them. There is mention of his grandfather, Abu 'l-Faḍl al-‘Abbãs ibn Fusãnjus, originally from Shīrãz (265/878-9–342/953-4), who was one of the prominent persons of Shīrãz, and who ran the *dīwãn*u *'z-zamãn* (the centralized *dīwãn*, see §45). He died in Baṣrah, and was taken to and buried by the shrine of Amīru 'l-Mu’minīn, peace be upon him, in an-Najaf al-Ashraf (Iraq). After him, his son Abu 'l-Faraj ran the *dīwãn* on the foundations laid by his father (Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajãribu 'l-umam*, vol.5, (1), pp.300, 350; vol.6, (2), pp.147-8; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.8, p.506; *Takmilat tãrīkhi 'ṭ-Ṭabarī*, pp.11, 293).

There is also mention of his father, the *wazīr*, Abu 'l-Faraj Muḥammad ibn al-‘Abbãs (308/921–370/981) who took over the *dīwãn* after the death of his father. Then he was one of the two whom Mu‘izzu 'd-Dawlah Ibn Būyah entrusted with power after the death of his minister Abū Muḥammad al-Muhallabī (352/963), and ‘Aḍūdu 'd-Dawlah subsequently appointed him as his minister (358/969), but later dismissed him and entrusted others with these affairs. aṣ-Ṣafadī says of him: "He was respected at gatherings, given to forbearance, of good religious principles, and of exceeding integrity."
[*al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, p.61; *Tajãribu 'l-umam*, vol.6 (2), pp.148, 198, 237, 238, 241, 242, 260, 263, 269; *al-Wãfi bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.3, p.198; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.8, pp.506, 547, 568, 577, 601; vol.9, p.9; al-Hamadãnī, *Takmilat tãrīkhi 'ṭ-Tabarī*, pp.396, 398, 406; *Tajãribu 's-salaf*, pp.239-40.]

Other sons of this family are mentioned, but Abu 'l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad is not mentioned and nothing is written of his biography. Then an-Najãshī says of him that: "He was too famous for his life to have to be set forth." I deduce that his death was around the year 400/1009 from consideration of the dates of the deaths of his grandfather and his father. All of the family members were Imãmī (*al-Faraj ba‘da 'sh-shiddah*, vol.1, p.241). an-Najãshī's words: "and prior to that he had been a Mu‘tazilī and then turned back" shows that he was a believer in the Imãmate, then he embraced Mu‘tazilism – may be this was through his Mu‘tazilī teachers – and then returned to his former beliefs.

§46. ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī, Abu 'l-Qãsim al-Khazzãz: an-Najãshī says: "He was trustworthy among our co-sectarians; he was a *faqīh* and an exemplary (Shī‘ī). He wrote *Kitãbu 'l-Īḍãḥ fī uṣūli 'd-dīn* (Book of Explanation Concerning the Roots of the Religion) according to the belief (*madhhab*) of the *Ahlu 'l-Bayt*, peace be upon them." Ibn Shahrãshūb says: "‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī, al-Khazzãz ar-Rãzī, and he is also called al-Qummī, has written books on *kalãm* and *fiqh*." Among his books which Ibn Shahrãshūb mentions are:-

1. *al-Īḍãḥ fi 'l-i‘tiqãd* (Explanation of the Doctrine);
2. *al-Kifãyah fi 'n-nuṣūṣ*, but its full name is *Kifãyatu 'l-athar fi 'n-naṣṣ ‘ala 'l-aimati 'l-ithnay-‘ashar* (The Sufficiency of the Narrations Concerning the Warrants Related to the Twelve Imãms).

[an-Najãshī, p.205; *Ma‘ãlimu 'l-‘ulamã'*, p.63; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, p.221; al-‘Allãmah, p.101; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.234; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.578.]

at-Tafrishī, al-Ardibīlī, al-Ḥurr al-‘Ãmilī, al-Khwãnṣãrī, as-Sayyid al-Khū'ī, as-Sayyid aṣ-Ṣadr and al-Qummī all relate that these two were one

and the same. And this seems obvious from Ibn Dãwūd, when he only gives the biography of one of them. But it appears from al-‘Allãmah, al-Mãmaqãnī and ash-Shaykh Ãghã Buzurg that these were two persons, because they give two biographies. However, the most likely is that they were the same.
[See Ibn Dãwūd, p.249; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.201-2; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.226, 234; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, pp.554, 578; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, pp.267, 288; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.11, p.269; vol.12, p.12; *Ta’sīsu 'sh-Shī‘ah*, p.378; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.4, pp.313-4; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.2, p.206; *Ṭabaqãt a‘lãmi 'sh-Shī‘ah*, 4th cent., p.172; 5th cent., p.127; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.2, p.489; vol.18, pp.86-88.]

§47. ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Yazdãd, Abū Tammãm ibn Abī Khãzim al-Wãsiṭī (372/983–459/1067): al-Khaṭīb wrote his biography and he mentions his *shaykh*s. He was in charge of the jurisdiction of Wãsiṭ, the town in Iraq, for a long time, and he died there. He was truthful and professed Mu‘tazilism and Rãfiḍism, showing it openly. He believed in the creation of the Qur’ãn and tried to pursuade others of it. People came to him to learn from him. We have shown before that these matters the Imãmiyyah and the Mu'tazilah shared which Ibn Yazdãd raised, and that it was the Imãmiyyah, which were meant by the Rãfiḍah, and not any other Shī‘ī group.
[*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.12, p.103; *al-Ikmãl*, vol.2, p.291; *Mīzãnu 'l-i‘tidãl*, vol.3, pp.155-6; *Līsãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.4, p.261; *al-A‘lãm*, vol.5, p.147.]

§48. ‘Alī ibn al-Muḥassin ibn ‘Alī, Abu 'l-Qãsim at-Tanūkhī (365/976–447/1055): He was a man of letters, a *mutakallim*, a poet, and a *faqīh*. His Imãmī biographers say that he was a companion of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã and was close to him, being one of his close circles of students. Many of them say that he was an Imãmī, while non-Imãmī biographers say he was a Rãfiḍite and a Mu‘tazilite. Many Shī‘ī biographers who wrote about his father Abū ‘Alī al-Muḥassin (327/939–384/994) and his grand-father Abu 'l-Qãsim ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad at-Tanūkhī (278/892–342/953) mention that they were also Shī‘ī, or specifically Imãmī. It would seem that the Tanūkhīs gave the external appearance of belonging in *fiqh* to the Ḥanafīs, in deference to the ruling authority of that time, and perhaps they held the rank of judge (three of them) which the authorities had bestowed on them, and which would never have been given to a Shī‘ī, particularly an Imãmī: (for their biographies see: *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.5, pp.216-9; *al-*

Ghadīr, vol.3, pp.377-86; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.2 p.123-5).
[*al-Ghadīr*, vol.3, pp.386-7; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.5, p.219; *Majãlisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, pp.541, 542-3; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, p.509; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.2, pp.125-6; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.42, pp.9-10; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.124; *Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.12, p.115; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.168; Ibn Khallikãn, vol.4, p.162; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabã'*, vol.5, pp.301-9; *Fawãtu 'l-wafayãt*, vol.3, pp.60-62; *al-Ansãb*, vol.3, pp.95-96; *Mīzãnu 'l-i'tidãl*, vol.3, p.152; *al-'Ibar*, vol.3, p.214; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.4, pp.252-3; *Shadharãtu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.276; *an-Nujūmu 'z-zãhirah*, vol.5, p.58; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.7, p.175; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.67; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.9, pp.615-6.]

§49. 'Alī ibn Yaqṭīn ibn Mūsã, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Kūfī, subsequently **al-Baghdãdī (124/742–180/796 or 182/798):** His father, Yaqṭīn, was one of the most famous propagandists for the 'Abbãsids; and he himself, despite his belief in the Imãmate, was one of the most distinguished employes of the 'Abbãsids. He was given responsibility for many important tasks for them. He was in charge of the Registry of the Chancellery (*zimãmu 'l-azimmah*) of the caliph al-Mahdī in the year 168/785, the Registry where all the registers of the government were collected together. al-Mahdī was the first to start the system of administration called *zimãmu 'l-azimmah* (see aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol.3, p.522). After the death of al-Mahdī he held the same position under the caliph Hãrūn, and was one of the latter's companions till he died.

It is said of him: "He is trustworthy and of an exalted rank. He held great status before Abu 'l-Ḥasan Mūsã ibn Ja'far, peace be upon them, and he was given high rank among the Shī'ah." He narrated from aṣ-Ṣãdiq and al-Kãẓim, peace be upon them both, many *aḥãdīth*. He also wrote books of *ḥadīth* and a *masãil* (a book in which a person records the questions he asked an Imãm together with the Imãm's answers). Among his books was: *The Debate of 'Alī ibn Yaqṭīn with the Skeptic in the Presence of Ja'far ibn Muḥammad, peace be upon them*.
[al-Kishshī, pp.430-7; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.116-7; *ar-Rijãl*, p.354; an-Najãshī, p.209; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.56; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.279; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.253-4; al-'Allãmah, pp.91-92; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, pp.234-41; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.246; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, p.609; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.315; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.12, pp.247-57; *adh-Darī'ah*, vol.22, p.298; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.1, p.667.]

§50. Amīrakã ibn Abi 'l-Lajūn ibn Amīrah, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Mu'īnu

'd-Dīn al-Maṣdarī al-'Ijlī al-Qazwīnī (d. 514/1120): A *faqīh*, narrator of *ḥadīth*, *mutakallim*. Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says: "He was a debater, a clever person, a prominent figure . . . He wrote works on *uṣūl (ad-Dīn)* among which are:-

1. *at-Ta'līqu 'l-kabīr* (The Great Commentary);
2. *at-Ta'līqu 'ṣ-ṣaghīr* (The Lesser Commentary);
3. *al-Ḥudūd* (Definitions); and
4. *Masãil shattã* (Different Matters).

ar-Rãfi' mentions him in *at-Tadwīn* and gives the above-mentioned date for his death.

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.208, *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.109; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.40; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.153; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, p.226; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., pp.33-34; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.4, p.222; vol.6, p.298; vol.20, p.353; *Ḍiyãfatu 'l-ikhwãn*, p.125; *Ta'līqãtu 'n-naqḍ*, vol.1, pp.138-9.]

§51. Asad ibn Ibrãhīm ibn Kulayb, al-Qãḍī Abu 'l-Ḥasan as-Sulamī al-Ḥarrãnī (fl. 402/1012): He was one of the teacher-*shaykh*s of al-Karãjikī (see §122) and an-Najãshī (§22). He was a scholar, an expert in *ḥadīth,* and a *mutakallim*. Ibn 'Asãkir says: "He was one of the most forceful of the Shī'ah (in defence of Shī'ism), and he was a *mutakallim*." He narrated *ḥadīth* in 402/1012.

[an-Najãshī, p.52; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, p.503; *Rijãl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.2, p.75; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, p.160; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.29; *Mīzãnu 'l-i'tidãl*, vol.1, p.206; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.1, p.382; *al-Wãfī bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.9, p.5.]

B

§52. Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn (Ḥabīb ibn) Baqiyyah, Abū 'Uthmãn al-Mãzinī, al-Baṣrī (d. 248/862): an-Najãshī said: "Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb ibn Baqiyyah, Abū 'Uthmãn al-Mãzinī, of the Mãzin from the branch of Banū Shaybãn. He was a master among the Baṣran grammarians and scholars of obscure locutions and of language, the foremost among them, and famous for this." Then an-Najãshī quotes from his student Abu 'l-'Abbãs al-Mubarrad, Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ath-Thumãlī al-Azdī al-Baṣrī (210/826–286/899) that he said: "Among the scholars of the Imãmiyyah was Abū 'Uthmãn Bakr ibn Muḥammad, and he was a student of Ismã'īl ibn Mītham [corr. 'Alī ibn Ismã'īl, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Mīthamī (= §42), the famous Imãmī *mutakallim*]

[an-Najãshī, p.110, (#.279); *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.1, p.278; al-'Allãmah, p.26; Ibn Dãwūd, p.72; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.59-60; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.129; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.180-1; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, pp.345-6; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.2, pp.134-8; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.14, pp.78-90; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.3, pp.131-2.]

The non-Imãmiyyah also gave his biography: "[He was] a grammarian, a man of letters, a linguist (*lughawī*), a metrist, a reciter of the Qur'ãn. He was the leader of his time in grammar and letters; was reliable and trustworthy, and reached the highest degree of piety." There is a difference of opinion about the date of his death. "He was publicly an Imãmī Shī'ī, and followed the opinion of Ibn Mītham [in *kalãm*], and was a believer in *irjã'*. He would clearly defeat anyone who debated with him because of his power in *kalãm*." [*Mu'jamu 'l-udabã'*, vol.2, pp.380-1; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, p.57; *Bughyatu 'l-wu'ãt*, vol.1, pp.463-4; *Nūru 'l-qabas*, p.220; *Miftãḥu 's-sa'ãdah*, vol.1, p133.]

Abu 'l-'Abbãs al-Mubarrad attributed great acumen in *kalãm* and grammar to al-Mãzinī: "When he debated with the *mutakallim*s he made no use of anything from grammar, and when he debated with the grammarians he made no use of anything from *kalãm*." (*Inbãhu 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.148; *Siyar a'lãmi 'n-nubalã'*, vol.12, p.271.)

Abu 'l-Qãsim az-Zajjãjī, 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmãn ibn Isḥãq an-Nahãwandī al-Baghdãdī (d. 337/949), in his *al-Amãlī* narrated the following from Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Rustam aṭ-Ṭabarī, [a companion of Abū 'Uthmãn al-Mãzinī (*Mu'jamu 'l-udabã'*, vol.5, p.266). But in *Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.5, pp.125-6, (where it gives Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yazdyãr ibn Rustam, Abū Ja'far an-Naḥwī aṭ-Ṭabarī); see also (Ibn) an-Nadīm, pp.65-66; who gave: Ibn Rustam ibn Yazdyãr]: "I came to the meeting of Abū 'Uthmãn al-Mãzinī, where he was asked: 'Why have you only narrated a few of al-Aṣma'ī's traditions?' (Ref. to Abdu 'l-Malik ibn Qurayb al-Bãhilī al-Baṣrī [122/740–216/831]). He said: 'I was accused before him of [belief in] *qadar* and of a tendency towards the belief of the Mu'tazilah . . .'" (*Mu'jamu 'l-udabã'*, vol.2, pp.389-90; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, p.57.)

al-Khaṭīb related from Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭaḥãwī, the famous Ḥanafī jurist (239/853–321/933): "I heard Bakkãr ibn Qutaybah [at-Thaqafī, the famous Qãḍī of Eygpt (182/798–270/884) say: 'I have never seen a grammarian who was like the jurists apart from Ḥibbãn ibn Hilãl [al-Bãhilī, Abū Ḥabīb al-Baṣrī (*c.*130/748–216/831): he is agreed to have been trustworthy and his narrations are included in the books of *ḥadīth* (*Tahdhību 't-tahdhīb*, vol.2, p.170; *Siyar a'lãmi 'n-nubalã'*, vol.10, pp.239-40) and al-Mãzzinī.'"
[*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.7, p.94; Ibn Khallikãn, vol.1, pp.283-4; *Inbãhu 'r-ruwãt*,

vol.1, p.247; *Nuzhatu 'l-alibbã'*, pp.182-3; *al-Wãfī bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.10, p.211-2; al-Yãfi'ī, vol.2, p.109; *Siyar a'lãmi 'n-nubalã'*, vol.10, p.240; vol.12, p.271.]

§53. Barakah ibn Muḥammad ibn Barakah, ash-Shaykh Abu 'l-Khayr al-Asadī: Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says: "He was a pious *faqīh* who studied with our *shaykh* Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī." He mentions several books he wrote, among them: *Ḥaqãiqu 'l-īmãn* (The Truths of the Faith) on *uṣūl*; and *al-Ḥujaj* (The Proof) on the Imãmate.

In *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, it is written that he died in 543/148-9, but I think this is a mistake and should be 503/1109-10.

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.212; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.116; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.43; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.164; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, p.277; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.35; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.6, p.263; vol.7, p.30; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.13, p.208; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, p.9; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.1, p.231.]

D

§54. Dãwūd ibn Asad, Ibn 'Ufayr, Abu 'l-Aḥwaṣ al-Miṣrī: aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "One of the most important Imãmī *mutakallim*. al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsã an-Nawbakhtī (d. *c.*310/922, see §73) met him and was instructed by him." an-Najãshī says: "The most excellent *shaykh*, *faqīh* and *mutakallim*; among the people of *ḥadīth* he is most trustworthy." According to al-Ash'arī, he was a Rãfiḍite *mutakallim* and author. He wrote several books, including: *Kitãb fi 'l-imãmah 'alã sãir man khãlafahu mina 'l-umam* (Book on the Imãmate Against the Other Groups Who Deny It), *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-'Uthmãniyyah* (Refutation of the 'Uthmãniyyah, [perhaps the Book *al-'Uthmãniyyah* by al-Jãḥiẓ] and others.

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.221; an-Najãshī, p.120; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.127; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, p.280; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.143, 391 – but there is confusion between this man and Ibn Mumlak (see §109) – al-'Allãmah, p.188; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.127; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.302; vol.2, p.364; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.407; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.7, p.99; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.326; vol.10, p.211; *Maqãlãtu 'l-Islãmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.127.]

§55. Dhu 'l-Faqãr ibn [Muḥammad ibn] Ma'bad ibn al-Ḥasan, 'Imãdu 'd-Dīn Abu 'ṣ-Ṣamṣãm al-Ḥasanī al-Marwazī (405/1014–536/1141-2): Ibn 'Inabah said, and others related from him: "He was a jurist, a man of knowledge, a *mutakallim*, and he was blind." (*'Umdatu 'ṭ-*

ṭãlib, p.101; *al-Fuṣūlu 'l-fakhriyyah*, p.110; *Riyãḍu 'l-'ulamã'*, vol.2, p.279; *ad-Darajãtu 'r-rafī'ah*, p.519; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, pp.495, 496; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.6, p.433.)

He studied with ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã, an-Najãshī, aṭ-Ṭūsī and others who were contemporaries with them or came after them.

[Refer to: Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist*, pp.73-74; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, pp.230-1; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.115-6, 325; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.314; *Riyãḍu 'l-'ulamã'*, vol.2, pp.277-80; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, pp.495-6; *'Umdatu 'ṭ-ṭãlib*, pp.99-101; *al-Fuṣūlu 'l-fakhriyyah*, pp.109-10; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.7, p.157; Ibn 'Asãkir, Dãru 'l-Bashīr printing, vol.6, p.108; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansãbi 'l-'Arab*, pp.46-47; Ibnu 'l-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ majma'i 'l-ãdãb fī mu'jami 'l-alqãb*, vol.4, pt.2, p.722; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, pp.436-7; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 6th cent., pp.99-100.]

F

§56. al-Faḍl ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn al-Baghdãdī: an-Najãshī says: "He was a *mutakallim* who was outstanding in *kalãm*. Abū 'Abdillãh al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Ubaydillãh (ibn al-Ghaḍãirī, see §88) says: "I have his book on the Imãmate, and it is a large book.'"

[an-Najãshī, p.235; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, p.31; Ibn Dãwūd, p.273; al-'Allãmah, p.133; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.267; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.6; vol.2, p.6; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.11; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.13, p.328; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.377.]

§57. al-Faḍl ibn Shãdhãn ibn al-Khalīl, Abū Muḥammad al-Azdī an-Naysãbūrī (*c.*195/811–260/873): He was one of the outstanding Imãmiyyah scholars, in *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *kalãm* and *tafsīr*. He narrated from al-Imãm ar-Riḍã, peace be upon him, it is said, and from the Imãms al-Jawãd, al-Hãdī and al-'Askarī, peace be upon them. It is said of him: "He was trustworthy, one of the greatest men of our sect, both of *fuqahã'* and *mutakallim*s, and in this (Imãmiyyah) branch he was given great importance. In his degree he has so much fame that we do not need to describe it." Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He was a *mutakallim*, a *faqīh* of high rank." al-Ash'arī and ash-Shahrastãnī count him among the "Rãfiḍite" *mutakallim*s and one of their authors.

al-Kishshī narrates from Sahl ibn Baḥr al-Fãrisī: "He said: 'I heard al-Faḍl ibn Shãdhãn, the last time I saw him, say: "I am a successor to those who have preceded me; I saw Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Umayr (see §115) and Ṣafwãn ibn Yaḥyã (one of the most outstanding narrators from al-Imãm ar-

Riḍã, peace be upon him; he is considered trustworthy, and was one of ar-Riḍã's representatives [see *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.413,]) and others, and I have studied under them for the past fifty years. When Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam, may Allãh have mercy on him (see § 76) passed away and Yūnus ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn (see § 165), who was his successor, used to refute opponents. Then Yūnus ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn died, and his only successor was as-Sakkãk (see § 141), and he used to refute the opponents, till he, may Allãh have mercy on him, passed away. And I was the successor to them afterwards."'"

He is said to have written a hundred and eighty books but those given in the lists with their titles represent only one quarter of what he wrote. Among them are the following, which refer to matters of *kalãm*:

1. *at-Tawḥīd min kutubi 'llãhi 'l-munzalati 'l-arba'ah* (Divine Unity According to Allãh's Four [?] Revealed Books). This book was a refutation of Yazīd ibn Bazī' the Khãrijite.
2. *al-Masãil fi 'l-'ãlam wa ḥudūthih* (Question and Answers on the Universe and Its Coming into Existence).
3. *ar-Radd 'alã 'th-Thanawiyyah* (Refutation of Dualism; aṭ-Ṭūsī calls it *ad-Dãmighah* – The Invalidation).
4. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-falãsifah* (Refutation of the Philosophers; according to aṭ-Ṭūsī it is "a refutation of what the philosophers claim concerning Divine Unity, accidents, substances and parts").
5. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Mannãniyyah* (= *al-Mãnawiyyah*) (Refutation of Manichaeism (according to aṭ-Ṭūsī – "of the believers of the Trinity [?]").
6. *at-Tanbīh mina 'l-jabr wa 't-tashbīh* (Remark Concerning Predestination and the Anthropormophisation of God).
7. *al-A'rãḍ wa 'l-jawãhir* (Accidents and Substances).
8. *al-Istiṭã'ah* (Human Capability).
9. *ar-Radd 'alã Muḥammad ibn Karrãm* (as-Sijizzī [*c.*168/784–255/869] the leader of the Karrãmiyyah, and a famous believer in God's corporeality and anthropomorphism); ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī quoted a part of it in his *Amãlī*, vol.2, pp.346-7.
10. *ar-Radd 'alã ahli 't-ta'ṭīl* (Refutation of the Deniers of Attributes to Allãh; which usually means the Jahmiyyah [followers of Jahm ibn Ṣafwãn, Abū Muḥriz (d. 128/745-6)] and the Mu'tazilah).
11. *an-Naqḍ 'ala 'l-Iskãfī fī taqwiyyati 'l-jism* (Confuting of al-Iskãfī [Abū Ja'far the Mu'tazilite (d. 240/854)] concerning [his] insistence on the materiality [of man].

Concerning the nature of man there was a difference of opinion among

the *mutakallim*s. The first, that of Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam and the Banū Nawbakht, and of the Mu'tazilah, only Mu'ammar ibn 'Abbãd, which was upheld by ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd, was that man 'is self-subsistent, without bulk or extension; neither is composition possible in him, nor movement or rest, nor juncture or seperation. He is the thing which the wise ancients have called "simple substance" and similarly every living, produced agent is a simple substance.' (McDermott, p.223). The second, that of the two al-Jubbã'īs and their followers was that man, was the sum of the components of his body. The third, that of Ibnu 'l-Ikhshīd, was that man was a matter which pervades every human body. It was the second opinion that was upheld by the majority of the Mu'tazilah. ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã and aṭ-Ṭūsī disagreed with al-Mufīd, and upheld the second opinion (see *adh-Dhakhīrah*, p.114); *al-Iqtiṣãd*, pp.113-4; *at-Tawḥīd*, p.164). It would seem that al-Iskãfī wrote a treatise attacking Hishãm's position, and that al-Faḍl ibn Shãdhãn, who was a follower of Hishãm in *kalãm*, wrote a refutation of al-Iskãfī. The *kalãm* positions which al-Mufīd upheld can be seen to be in the Imãmī tradition from Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam; al-Mufīd's teacher in *kalãm* was Abu 'l-Jaysh al-Balkhī, who was in turn the student of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī.

Moreover, as can be seen in the list of Abu 'l-Jaysh's writings, he himself wrote on this subject defending the views of Abū Sahl (§96), which were in turn the views deriving from Hishãm. This lends further credence to the view that Imãmī *kalãm* had an independent origin prior to its association with Mu'tazilism, this association, at least as regards the nature of man, largely taking place through the writings and teachings of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã and ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī. A further point to be noted is that, as far as Hishãm is concerned, it would seem unlikely that one who held a belief in the incorporeality of man's essence would also hold the view, in connection with the subject of anthropomorphism, that God had mterial components. This would seem to add evidence to the view that the anthropomorphic opinions attributed to Hishãm were the result of opponents' attempts to discredit him.

12. *ar-Radd 'alã Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn* (according to an-Najãshī, although aṭ-Ṭūsī says Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyã).

There is obscurity about who this person was, but there is mentioned among the leaders of the Khãrijites, their *mutakallim*s and authors a certain Yaḥyã ibn Kãmil al-Ibãḍī. One of his books is: *at-Tawḥīd wa 'r-radd 'ala 'l-ghulãt wa ṭawãifi 'sh-Shiya'* (Divine Unity and Refutation of the Extremists and the Shī'ī Sects).

(See [Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.233; *Maqãlãtu 'l-Islãmiyyīn*, vol.1, pp.174, 186; ash-Shahrastãnī, vol.1, p.137). Perhaps this means that there was confusion

about his name.

13. *ar-Radd ahli 'l-Aṣamm* [‘Abdu 'r-Raḥmãn ibn Kaysãn al-Baṣrī al-Mu‘tazilī (d. 200/816)].
14. *an-Nisbah bayna 'l-Jabriyyah wa 'l-Butriyyah* (Comparison Between the Beleivers in Predestination and the Butriyyah [a sect of the Zaydiyyah]).
15. *ar-Radd ‘ala 'l-Murjiah* (Refutation of the Murji’ites).
16. *al-Wa‘d wa 'l-wa‘īd* (The Promise and the Threat [of Divine Retribution]).
17. *al-Wa‘īd* (The Threat, i.e., that the one who commits any of the great sins will be perpetually condemned to the Fire).
18. *ar-Radd ‘ala 'l-Ḥashwiyyah* (Refutation of the Ḥashwites [those who gave a literal interpretation to anthropomorphic *ḥadīth*]).
19. *ar-Radd ala 'l-bãisah* (Refutation of the Wretched [?]).
20. *al-Īmãn* (The Faith).
21. *Tibyãn aṣl (ahl) aḍ-ḍalãlah* (Exposition of the Principles of [or the People of] Error).
22. *al-Mi‘yãr wa 'l-muwãzanah* (The Standard and the Balance [in Matters of Religion]).
23. *Ma‘rifatu 'l-hudã wa 'ḍ-ḍalãlah* (Recognition of Right-guidance and Misguidance).
24. *al-Imãmah (al-kabīr)* ([The Great] Book on the Imãmate).
25. *al-Masãilu 'l-arba‘ah fi 'l-imãmah* (Four Matters Concerning the Imãmate).
26. *al-Khiṣãl fi 'l-imãmah*.
27. *al-Īḍãḥ fi 'l-imãmah* (The Clarification Concerning the Imãmate).

The University of Tehran published this book in 1392/1972, edited by the late as-Sayyid Jalãlu 'd-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Urmawī al-Muḥaddith, Professor at the University of Tehran. At the beginning of *al-Īḍãḥ* mention is made of those who were opposed to the Imãmiyyah in their beliefs, and mention is also made of a summary of the beliefs of these opposing groups. They are the Jahmiyyah, the Mu‘tazilah, the Jabriyyah (believers in Predestination), the Murji’ites, the *aṣḥãbu 'l-ḥadīth* (people of *ḥadīth*) by whom al-Faḍl ibn Shãdhãn meant those who were led to belief in God's corporeality and anthropomorphism through false *ḥadīth* or through false interpretations of approved *ḥadīth*, and he quotes these *aḥãdīth* (see *al-Īḍãḥ*, p.4-48).

28. *ar-Radd ‘ala 'l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī fi 't-tafḍīl* (Refutation of al-Ḥasan al-Basrī [the famous commentator of the Holy Qur’ãn and scholar of *ḥadīth*, 21/642–110/728] Concerning his Opinion on Preference [of the angels over the prophets – see *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.10, p.190]).
29. *ar-Radd ‘ala ('l-Bãṭiniyyah wa* [according to aṭ-Ṭūsī]) *'l-Qarãmiṭah*

(Refutation of [the Bãṭiniyyah (those who held exclusively esoteric beliefs) and] the Qarmaṭians).

30. *ar-Radd ʻala 'l-Yamãn ibn Rabãb al-Khãrijī* (or, according to an-Najãshī, "Bayãn ibn Rabãb", but this is an error in diacritrical points.

al-Yamãn ibn Rabãb was one of the *mutakallim*s of the Khãrijites and one of their authors. He wrote: *at-Tawḥīd* (Divine Unity), *Ithbãt imãmat Abī Bakr* (Proof of the Imãmate of Abū Bakr), *ar-Radd ʻala 'l-Muʻtazilah fi 'l-qadar* (Refutation of the Muʻtazilah Concerning their Denial of Predestination), *al-Maqãlãt* (Opinions [of the Sects]) and *ar-Radd ʻala 'l-Murjiah* (Refutation of the Murji'ites), see [Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.233; *Maqãlãtu 'l-Islãmiyyīn*, vol.1, pp.171, 183, 186; ash-Shahrastãnī, vol.1, p.137).

31. *ar-Radd ʻala 'l-ghãliyah al-Muḥammadiyyah* (Refutation of the Excess of the Muḥammadiyyah [one of the sects who held extreme beliefs concerning the Imãms, peace be upon them].)

[al-Kishshī, pp.537-44: aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.124-5; *ar-Rijãl*, pp.420, 434; an-Najãshī, pp.235-6; *Maʻãlimu 'l-ʻulamã'*, pp.80-81; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, pp.29, 38; *Majmaʻu 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, pp.21-31; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.272-3; al-ʻAllãmah, p.132-3; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.266-7; *Jãmiʻu 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, pp.5-6; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.2, pp.9-11; *Muʻjam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.13, pp.313-26; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shīʻah lī ʻulūmi 'l-Islãm*, p.377; *Maqãlãtu 'l-Islãmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.127; ash-Shahrastãnī, vol.1, p.190; *Hadiyyatu 'l-ʻãrifin*, vol.1, pp.817-8; *al-Aʻlãm*, vol.5, p.355; *Muʻjamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.8, p.69; Sezgin, vol.1, pp.537-8;]

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§58. Ḥadīd ibn Ḥakīm, Abū ʻAlī al-Azdī al-Madãinī: It is said of him: "He was of a high rank, abounding in intellect, famous for his erudition, trustworthy, distinguished and *mutakallim*." He narrated from aṣ-Ṣãdiq (83/702–148/765) and al-Kãẓim (129/746–183/799), peace be upon them both.

[an-Najãshī, p.114; *Majmaʻu 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, p.86; Ibn Dãwūd, p.101; al-ʻAllãmah, p.64; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.83; *Jãmiʻu 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.180; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.258; *Muʻjam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.4, p.245; *Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.8, p.280; *Lisãnu 'l-Mīzãn*, vol.2, pp.181-2.]

§59. al-Ḥãjib ibn al-Layth ibn Sirãj: al-Afandī says: "He was an erudite man of knowledge, *mutakallim*, a *faqīh*, much revered, a contemporary of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã. He and ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã had a correspondence with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd about some matters, which arose from al-Amīr as-Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Mujtahid al-ʻÃmilī's book: *Kitãb dafʻu 'l-munãwãt mina 't-tafḍīl wa 'l-musãwãt*" (*Riyãḍu 'l-ʻulamã'*, vol.1, p.120; *Ṭabaqãt aʻlãmi*

'sh-Shī'ah, 4th cent., p.46; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.18, p.4). The matters which they sent are those which were listed in the biography of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd (see §144, Answer no.14) under the title of *al-Masãilu 'l-'Ukbariyyah*, or *al-Masãilu 'l-Ḥãjibiyyah = Jawãbãt Abu 'l-Layth al-Awãnī*, the one who asked them being al-Ḥãjib Abu 'l-Layth ibn Sirãj al-Awãnī, and al-Mufīd answered them – see an-Najãshī, p.313; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, p.35; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, p.228; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.5, pp.198, 219, 228. These sources agree on the same form for the name of the questioner and his *laqab*, and the entry in *Riyãḍu 'l-'ulamã'*, is incorrect.

§60. al-Ḥakam ibn Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam, Abū Muḥammad al-Kindī: The son of the leader of the Imãmiyyah *mutakallim*s Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam (see §76). He lived in Baṣrah. an-Najãshī said: "He was famous in *kalãm*. He conversed with the people, and many sessions have been reported in connection with him. One of our scholars, may Allãh be merciful with them, mentioned that he saw a book by him on the Imãmate."
[an-Najãshī, p.105; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, p.222; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.115; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.268; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, p.2, p.361; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.6, p.182.]

§61. Ḥamzah ibn al-Qãsim ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥamzah ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Ubaydillãh ibn al-'Abbãs ibn Amīri 'l-Mu'minīn ['Alī, peace be upon him] (fl. 339/951): an-Najãshī says: "He was trustworthy, of a revered rank among our co-sectarians; (he transmitted) a great many *aḥãdīth*." His grave is still standing and is a place of pilgrimage to the south of the town of al-Ḥillah in Iraq. Among his books were: *at-Tawḥīd*, *ar-Radd 'alã* (Refutation of) *Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Asadī* (see §138).
[an-Najãshī, p.108; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, pp.240-1; Ibn Dãwūd, p.134; al-'Allãmah, p.53; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.120; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.283; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.376-7; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.6, pp.275-6; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.123-4; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.4, p.478; *Marãqidu 'l-ma'ãrif*, vol.1, pp.268-70.]

§62. Hãrūn ibn Muslim ibn Sa'dãn, Abu 'l-Qãsim al-Kãtib al-Anbãrī as-Sãmarrã'ī: He met Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Hãdī, (212/827–254/868) and Abū Muḥammad al-'Askarī (232/846–260/874), peace be upon them both. an-Najãshī says of him: "He is most trustworthy and a man of distinction (among us), but he had a certain belief about predestination and

anthropomorphism," but as-Sayyid Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm defends him from this accusation. He has a book on *at-Tawḥīd*.

[an-Najãshī, p.342; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, p.204; Ibn Dãwūd, p.524; al-'Allãmah, p.180; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.366; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.307; *Rijãl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.4, pp.15-18; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, pp.285-6; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.19, pp.281-3.]

§63. al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, Abū Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Aqīl al-'Umãnī al-Ḥadhdhã': ash-Shaykh at-Ṭūsī says: "He was one of the important *mutakallim*s belonging to the Imãmiyyah sect." an-Najãshī says: "He was a *faqīh*, a *mutakallim*, trustworthy, and he wrote books on *fiqh* and *kalãm* . . . I heard our Shaykh, Abū 'Abdillãh (al-Mufīd [336/948–413/1022], see §144), may Allãh have mercy on him, praise this man exceedingly." Abu 'l-Qãsim Ibn Qūlawayh (d. 368/979) narrates from him. Among his books are:-

1. *al-Mutamassik bi ḥabli ãli rasūl* (Holding Fast to the Cord of the Family of the Prophet). About this book it is said: "It is a large and excellent book, famous in the sect. Pilgrims to Mecca from Khurãsãn always asked for this book (in Baghdãd) and bought a copy of it."
2. *al-Karr wa 'l-farr fi 'l-imãmah* (Attack and Retreat Concerning the Imãmate).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijãl*, p.471; *al-Fihrist*, pp.225-6; an-Najãshī, p.38; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.32; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, pp.25, 141; vol.7, pp.155-6; Ibn Dãwūd, 110-1; al-'Allãmah, p.40; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.93; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, pp.189-209; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.291; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, pp.24-26; *Rijãl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.2, pp.211-23; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.2, pp.259-60; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.61, 68, 75; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.1, p.199; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.95-96; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.7, pp.292; vol.19, p.69.]

§64. al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Faḍḍãl, Abū Muḥammad al-Kūfī at-Taymūlī (d. 224/839): One of the outstanding and trustworthy Imãmī scholars of *ḥadīth*, he was a Fataḥī – see the section of "Sects" – but then he returned to the Imãmīs. He wrote several books, among which was: *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-ghãliyah* (Refutation of the Extremists).

[an-Najãshī, pp.26-28; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.72-73; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, pp.131-7; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.94-95; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.214; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.297-9; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, pp.46-52; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.212; *Ṭabaqãtu 'l-mufassirīn*, vol.1, pp.137-9; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, p.225.]

§65. al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī (al-Aṣghar) ibn ‘Umar (al-Ashraf) ibn al-Imãm ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon them, Abū Muḥammad al-Uṭrūsh an-Nãṣir (li 'l-Ḥaqq) al-Kabīr (225/ 840 or 230/844–304/917): an-Najãshī says: "He, may Allãh have mercy on him, was a firm believer in the Imãmate (i.e., he held the Imãmī doctrine of the Imãmate and the Imãms, peace be upon them), and he wrote several books on this (i.e., on the Imãmī opinions in doctrinal and legal matters), among which were:-

1. *Kitãb fi 'l-imãmah* (Book on Imãmate), which was a small treaties;
2. *Kitãbu 'ṭ-Ṭalãq* (Book on Divorce);
3. *Kitãbu 'l-Imãmah* (Book of Imãmate), a large work;
4. *Kitãb fadak wa 'l-khums* (Book on Fadak and *Khums*);
5. *Kitãbu 'sh-Shuhadã' wa faḍl ahli 'l-faḍl minhum* (Book of Martyrs, and the Merit of the Meritorious among them);
6. *Kitãb faṣãḥat Abī Ṭãlib* (Book of the Eloquence of Abū Ṭãlib);
7. *Kitãb ma‘ãdhir Banī Hãshim fīmã nuqima ‘alayhim* (Book of the Plea of the Banū Hãshim Concerning What was Raised against Them);
8. *Kitãb ansãbi 'l-aimmah wa mawãlidihim ilã ṣãḥibi 'l-amr ‘alayhi 's-salãm* (Book of the Lineages of the Imãms and Their Dates of Birth up to the Master of Authority, peace be upon him)."

an-Nãṣir was born in Medina. He migrated to Irãq and from there to Ṭabaristãn and Daylam (the eastern stretches of the Safīd-rūd river in the north of Iran in the province of Gilãn). Zaydī sources mention that he rose up claiming the Imãmate in the year 284/897 (*al-Baḥru 'z-zakhkhãr*, vol.1, p.228; al-Jandãrī, p.11; *Itḥãfu 'l-mustarshidīn*, p.44; *Tãrīkhu 'l-Yaman*, p23).

Historical sources mention that he went to Ṭabaristãn and that he was with Muḥammad ibn Zayd ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismã‘īl ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd ibn al-Imãm al-Ḥasan, peace be upon him, who rose up with the call after the killing of his brother, al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd, "ad-Dã‘ī ila 'l-Ḥaqq" (d. 270/884), the founder of the ‘Alawid dynasty in Ṭabaristãn. He stayed with Muḥammad ibn Zayd until the later was killed (187/900) in the war with one of the commanders of the army of Ismã‘īl ibn Aḥmad, the Samanid (234/848–295/907).

[aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol.3, p.2201; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.7, pp.504-5; *Maqãlãtu 'ṭ-ṭãlibiyyīn*, pp.693-4; Ibn Kathīr, vol.11, pp83-84; al-Mas‘ūdī, vol.8, pp.194-5; Ibn Khaldūn, vol.3, p.352; vol.4, pp.24025; Abu 'l-Fidã', vol.2, p.58; Ibnu 'l-Wardī, vol.1, p.367.]

After him an-Nãṣir li 'l-Ḥaqq took charge of things, except that he was

obliged to move into the land of Daylam after Ṭabaristãn had fallen out of the hands of the Zaydīs. Then he remained in Daylam about thirteen years, inviting the people to Islam, causing justice to appear among them, and ridding them of the wrongs done by their rulers. A great number of them accepted Islam; some of the Zaydī sources have estimated that the number was near to a million people (al-Jandãrī, p.11; *al-Baḥru 'z-zakhkhãr*, vol.1, p.228 – marginal note).

They gathered around him and he taught them the principles and commands of Islam. He also built several mosques in their country. Then he formed a sizeable army from them and marched with them into Ṭabaristãn (301/914), after the opportunity for this had presented itself to him. He was victorious over the deputy of the ruler Aḥmad ibn Ismã'īl ibn Aḥmad, the Samanid, (d. 301/914) in Ṭabaristãn, and took control of it. (aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol.3, p.2292; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.8, pp.79, 81-83; *Tajãribu 'l-umam*, [5] vol.1, p.36; al-Mas'ūdī, vol.8, pp.279-80; Ibn Khaldūn, vol.3, pp.366-7; vol.4, p.25; *Sirru 's-silsilati 'l-'Alawiyyah*, p.53; *'Umdatu 'ṭ-ṭãlib*, p.301; Abu 'l-Fidã', vol.2, p.59).

Then he withdrew from Ãmūl and the other towns of easten Ṭabaristãn and settled in Shãlus [i.e., Salūs, present day Chãlūs], which was the eastern limit of the country of Daylam in those days (Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.8, p.86; Ibn Khaldūn, vol.3, p.367), until he died in 304/917. Some annalists are of the opinion that he was killed in battle with the army which the Samanid Naṣr ibn Aḥmad (293/906–331/943)[14] sent to win back Ṭabaristãn (Ibn Khaldūn, vol.3, p.367; vol.4, p.25; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansãbi 'l-'Arab*, p.54); and on this account al-'Allãmah al-Amīnī counted him as one of the Imãmī martyrs and included his biography in *Shuhãdãu 'l-faḍīlah* (pp.1-6) where he mentions the evidence which supports his view: "al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-Uṭrūsh was truly of just comportment; his equal in justiness has not been seen. His behaviour was kind and he rose up for the truth." (aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol.3, p.2292; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.8, p.86; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansãbi 'l-'Arab*, p.54; Ibn Khaldūn, vol.3, p.367.)

Both the Imãmiyyah and the Zaydiyyah claim an-Nãṣir, and most of his Imãmī biographers have claimed him as one of them, in the same way as an-Najãshī. Among them was ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã, his great grandson, who extracted 207 of an-Nãṣir's legal opinions, together with their explanations in *al-Masãilu 'n-Nãṣiriyyãt*. This book was published in *al-Jawãmi'u 'l-fiqhiyyah* in a quarto size lithographed edition in Iran (1272/1856) in 49 pages. It is

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[14]The one who undertook the command of the army was his *wazīr*, Abū 'Abdillãh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Naṣr al-Jayhãnī (d. 330/942).

evident from what ash-Sharīf says that he was genuinely Imãmī. These conclusions depend on what was exctracted from the works, which he had written in conformity with the Imãmī religion, both in its principles and in its details. However, the Zaydīs claim that he is one of their Imãms. The Zaydī Imãm, ‘Abdullãh ibn Ḥamzah al-Ḥasanī al-Qãsimī al-Manṣūr Bi'llãh al-Yamãnī, (561/1116–614/1217) says of him: "There was no equal to him in his time in courage, knowledge, piety, indifference to worldly things, generosity and kindness. He wrote several works, which combined knowledge of the Qur’ãn, *kalãm*, *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, literature, reports (*akhbãr*) and the Arabic language; he was outstanding in poetry" (al-Jandãrī, pp.11). (Ibn) an-Nadīm was of the opnion as this and mentioned him as being in the Zaydī sect. He mentions that he wrote fourteen books on *fiqh*, and says: "This is all we have seen of his books: however some Zaydīs claim that he wrote about a hundred books, but we have not seen them."

Brockelmann and Sezgin mention: *al-Bisãt*, in which are brought together the distinguishing features of the Zaydī sect, and *al-Ibãnah* which is combined with the commentary of Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn Ya‘qūb al-Hawsamī az-Zaydī (400/1010). Ibnu 'l-Athīr and others say: "al-Uṭrūsh was of the Zaydī sect" (Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.8, p.82; Ibn Khaldūn, vol.3, p.367; vol.4, p.25). However, Ibn Shahrãshūb, the Imãmī scholar, qualifies him with these words: "an-Nãṣir li 'l-Ḥaqq was a Zaydī Imãm who wrote many books among which was *aẓ-Ẓulãmatu 'l-Fãṭimiyyah* (The Wrongs Done Against Fãṭimah [peace be upon her] and Her Progeny)."

as-Sayyid al-Amīn has also given an extensive biography of him and has combined the history of his life with what was said of him and his sect, and he prefers the Imãmī opinion. It would appear to me that an-Nãṣir, in the beginning subscribed to the Imãmiyyah sect, and wrote those works which the Imãmiyyah attribute to him as being according to their beliefs. Then he resolved to rise up in rebellion, and laid claim to the Imãmate so that he could do so, changed to the Zaydī sect, either genuinely or out of necessity, and subsequently wrote those works of his, which follow Zaydī beliefs. When he became a historical reality as a rebel, then subsequently as an *imãm* and a ruler, he was by then a Zaydī or at least apparently a Zaydī. If his work *an-Nãṣiriyyãt* is studied, it will be seen that he wrote it according to the well-known beliefs of the Zaydiyyah and not those of the Imãmiyyah, as can be clearly seen from ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã's refutation in his marginalia to it known as *al-Masãilu 'n-Nãṣiriyyãt*. Perhaps he was one of those who believed that establishing justice – even to a restricted degree – permitted deceiving

others about one's beliefs if only to the extent of supporting the views of the Zaydiyyah and rejecting the divine designation (*naṣṣ*) of the Imãm.
[an-Najãshī, pp.45-46; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, pp.113-4; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, p.127; Ibn Dãwūd, p.441; al-'Allãmah, p.215; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.93; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.209; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.2, pp.256-8; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.292-3; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, p.30; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.3, p.232; *Safīnatu 'l-biḥãr*, vol.1, p.267; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.22, pp.288-314 (last edition, vol.22, pp.117-28); *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent. p.92; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, pp.337-8; *Shuhãdau 'l-faḍīlah*, pp.1-6; *Majãlisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.2, p.320; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.244; *Baḥru 'z-zakhkhãr*, vol.1, p.228; al-Jandãrī, *Tarãjimu 'r-rijãl*, comm. of al-Azhãr, vol.1, p.11; *Itḥãfu 'l-mustarshidīn*, p.44; *ad-Durru 'l-fãkhir*, p.246; *Tãrīkhu 'l-Yaman*, pp.23-24; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.8, pp.81-83, 86, 105; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, vol.1, pp.32-33; *Sirru 's-silsilati 'l-'Alawiyyah*, p.53; *'Umdatu 'ṭ-ṭãlib*, pp.301-2; (these last two say that an-Nãṣir died when he was 99 years old and that he had been born *c.*205/820); *al-A'lãm*, 3rd ed. vol.2, p.216; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.3, p.252; Sezgin, vol.1, pp.566-7, 8.]

The Nawbakht Family

This clan was connected with the 'Abbãsids from the time they established their government in 132/739. Their ancestors had had connections with as-Saffãḥ and al-Manṣūr and the caliphs after them. From the beginning there were individuals in this family who were physicians, astronomers and philosophers, and subsequently poets and writers appeared among them, as well as *mutakallim*s, government scribes and even narrators and scholars of *ḥadīth*. The family was Imãmī Shī'īs and right from the very beginning, they had embraced this form of Islam.

It also appears that the scientific current among them continued right up to the 9th/13th century. There was a man known as an astronomer, who was apparently from this family, who was called Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb ibn Nawbakht (fl. 659/1260), and among his works was a compilation of astronomical knowledge (see *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.12, p.119; quoted from Brockelmann, SI, p.869).

Here we shall content ourselves with mentioning the *mutakallim*s from this family, and of those as-Sayyid aṣ-Ṣadr mentions twenty-three individuals, but we shall restrict ourselves, we emphasize to those who were definitely *mutakallim*s.
[For biographies of this family, see as-Sayyid Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣadr, *Ta'sīsu 'sh-*

Shī'ah lī 'ulūmi 'l-Islãm, pp.362-75; as-Sayyid al-Amīn, *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.5, pp.25-28; vol.6, p.83; 'Abbãs Iqbãl, *Khãndãn-e Nawbakhtī* (The Family of Nawbakhtī) – in Persian – Tehran (1311Sh./1933AD).]

§66. al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Yaqṭīn al-Baghdãdī: The son of (§49). He narrated from the Imãms al-Kãẓim and ar-Riḍã (148/765–203/818), peace be upon them both. "He was trustworthy, a *faqīh*, and a *mutakallim*.
[an-Najãshī, p.36; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijãl*, p.372; *al-Fihrist*, p.73; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, p.140; Ibn Dãwūd, p.115; al-'Allãmah, p.39; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.96; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.218; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.300-1; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, pp.60-61.]

§67. al-Ḥasan ibn 'Anbas ibn Mas'ūd ibn Sãlim ibn Muḥammad ibn Sharīk, Abū Muḥammad ar-Rãfiqī (*c.*384/994–485/1092): An Imãmī scholar and *mutakallim*. He studied with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd and al-Qãḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbãr al-Mu'tazilī. al-Karãjikī says: "I met him in ar-Rãfiqah (see §144/sec.6-bk.17), and I saw that he had a large circle of students studying under him" (*Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, p.242).

§68. al-Ḥasan ibn Ḥamzah ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abdillãh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon them both, Abū Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭabarī famous as al-Mar'ash or al-Mur'ish, al-Mar'ashī or Mur'ishī (d. 358/969): It is said of him: "One of the important people of this sect and of its *faqīh*s. He was well educated, a man of letters, a man of knowledge, a *faqīh*, an ascetic person, pious, with excellent qualities. "He wrote a great number of books, among which are:-

1. *al-Ashfiyah fī ma'ãni 'l-ghaybah* (The Remedies Concerning the Signification of the Occultation);
2. *Kitãb fi 'l-ghaybah*;
3. *Tabãshīru 'sh-sharī'ah* (Signs of the Truth of the Divine Law).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.77-78; *ar-Rijãl*, p.465; an-Najãshī, p.51; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.31; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, p.104-5; Ibn Dãwūd, p.117; al-'Allãmah, pp.39-40; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.87-88; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.195; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.274-5; *Tawḍīḥu 'l-ishtibãh*, p.115; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.4, pp.323-4; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.86-87; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.111; vol.3, p.310; vol.16, p.76; *ad-Darajãtu 'r-rafī'ah*, pp.457-8; *Īḍãḥu 'l-maknūn*, vol.1, p.220; vol.2, pp.268, 294, 317, 327; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.1, p.271; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.3, p.221.]

§69. al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn al-‘Abbãs ibn Ismã‘īl ibn Abī Sahl ibn Nawbakht, Abū Muḥammad al-Kãtib an-Nawbakhtī (320/932–402/1012): He is counted among the Imãmī *mutakallim*s, and his non-Shī‘ī biographers say of him: "He was a Mu‘tazilī and a Rãfiḍite whose faith was ruined but he was truthful in (narration of) *ḥadīth*, veracious, and correct in hearing." This cannot be right, as it is mentioned "he was a Mu‘tazilī and a Rãfiḍite", although he was merely an Imãmī. Since the Imãmiyyah and the Mu‘tazilah, in relation to the Ash‘ariyyah, shared the same opinion in some matters, there was confusion as to who belonged to which group. Many similar examples can be found in subsequent biographers.
[*al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.3, p.269; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī‘ah*, p.374; *Khãndãn-e Nawbakhtī*, pp.240-2; *A‘yãnu 'sh-Shī‘ah*, vol.21, pp.93-94; *Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.7, p.299; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, p.258; *al-Bidãyah wa 'n-nihãyah*, vol.11, p.347; *al-Ansãb*, f. b/569; *al-Lubãb*, vol.3, p.328; *Mīzãnu 'l-i‘tidãl*, vol.1, p.485; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, p.201.]

§70. al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Bãbawayh al-Qummī, resident in Rayy but given the *laqab* **"Ḥasakã" (d. 512/1118):** "The *shaykh*, the *imãm*, sun of Islam and the Muslims, the *faqīh*, trustworthy in narration, a prominent figure, the *mutakallim*." He studied with Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifh aṭ-Ṭūsī all the latter's writings, as well as studying with the two *shaykh*s Sãlãr ibn ‘Abdi 'l-‘Azīz and Ibn al-Barrãj all their writings.
[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.219; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.193; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.64; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.273; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.4, pp.313-4; *Lu'luatu 'l-baḥrayn*, p.335; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, pp.466, 476, 487, 489; *Ta‘līqãtu 'n-naqḍ*, vol.1, pp.146-8; Introduction to aṭ-Ṭūsī's *Rijãl*, p.44.]

§71. al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad, Abū ‘Alī an-Nahãwandī (4th/10th cent.): an-Najãshī sys: "He was a *mutakallim*, faultless in *kalãm*, a writer of books", among which are:-

1. *al-Iḥtijãj fi 'l-imãmah* (The Controversy over the Imãmate);
2. *al-Kãfī fī fasadi 'l-ikhtiyãr* (The Sufficiency Concerning the Incorrectness of [the idea of] Free Choice);
3. *an-Naqḍ ‘alã Sa‘īd ibn Hãrūn al-Khãrijī fi 'l-ḥakamayn* (The Refutation of Sa‘īd ibn Hãrūn al-Khãrijī [the Ibãḍite, among the *mutakallim*s of the Khawãrij, and a writer of their books: *Maqãllãtu 'l-Islãmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.186] Concerning the Two Arbitrators [at the Battle of Ṣiffīn]).

[an-Najãshī, p.39; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, p.154; Ibn Dãwūd, p.118; al-

'Allãmah, p.42; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.98; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.226; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.309; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, pp.138-9; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.1, p.282; vol.17, p.247; vol.24, p.287.]

§72. al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, ash-Shaykh Abū 'Alī ibn Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī (d. *c.*515/1121): A scholar, *faqīh*, narrator of *ḥadīth*, *mutakallim*, trustworthy in narration and pious. He studied with his father all the latter's writings.

Ibn Ḥajar says: "He became a Shī'ī *faqīh* and their leader after his father." A large group of students of *fiqh*, *ḥadīth* and *kalãm* studied under him.
[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, pp.218-9; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.32; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.204; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.76; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.306; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, p.115; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, pp.475-9, 484-5, 489, 497; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.8, pp.185-7; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 6th cent., 66-67; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, p.250.]

§73. al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsã ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad, Abū Muḥammad an-Nawbakhtī (d. *c.*310/922), (son of the sister of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī)**:** Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī says in his *ar-Rijãl*: "He was a trustworthy *mutakallim*", and in his *al-Fihrist*: "He was a *mutakallim* and a philosopher; a group of translators of philosophy books used to gather at his house, such as Abū 'Uthmãn ad-Dimashqī (Sa'īd ibn Ya'qūb [fl. 302/914] who lived in Baghdad and translated many books into Arabic, among them books on medicine, philosophy and other subjects [*Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.4, p.234]) and Isḥãq (ibn Ḥunayn al-'Ibãḍī [215/830–298/910], philosopher, physician, and renowned translator; he knew Greek and Syriac kkand had a flawless knowledge of literary Arabic; he translated many books and also wrote many of his own [*al-A'lãm*, vol.1, p.286; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.2, p.23]) and Thãbit (ibn Qurrah al-Ḥarrãnī aṣ-Ṣabi'ī [221/836–288/901], one of the most famous scholars of medicine, philosophy and mathematics, and translators of books into Arabic; in his lifetime he wrote around 150 books, and translated many more [*al-A'lãm*, vol.2, pp.81-82; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.3, pp.101-2]) and others. He was an Imãmī, excellent in his beliefs . . . He wrote many books about *kalãm*, some defects of philosophy, and other subjects." (Ibn) an-Nadīm mentions him and describes him as aṭ-Ṭūsī does, adding: "The Mu'tazilah claim him, and the Shī'ah claim him; but he was really in the ranks of the Shī'ah, for the Nawbakhtī family were well-known for their acceptance of the *wilãyah* (mastership) of 'Alī and his

descendants, peace be upon them." an-Najãshī says: "He was our leader among the *mutakallim*s, surpassing of his kind in his time before the fourth century and after." And Ibn Shahrãshūb says: "He was an Imãmī philosopher."

The Mu'tazilah say that Abū Muḥammad learnt from Abū Hãshim al-Jubbã'ī, who was previously mentioned in the biography of Abū Sahl ibn Nawbakht, but they say that he was one of the Imãmiyyah. Ibnu 'l-Murtḍã al-Mahdī az-Zaydī says of him: "His rank in knowledge of, and information concerning, the opinions and beliefs [of the *mutakallim*s] was much greater than [that of] others." (*Faḍlu 'l-i'tizãl wa dhikru 'l-Mu'tazilah*, p.321; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.188; *al-Baḥru 'z-zakhkhãr*, vol.1, p.46.) But it cannot be true that he studied with Abū Hãshim for the same reasons, which we mentioned under Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī.

Among the many books which Abū Muḥammad an-Nawbakhtī is reported to have written were:-

a) Divine Unity and related matters in philosophy and *kalãm*:

1. *at-Tawḥīdu 'l-kabīr* (The Great Book on Divine Unity).
2. *at-Tawḥīdu 'ṣ-ṣaghīr* (The Lesser Book on Divine Unity).
3. *Kitãb kabīr fi 'l-jabr* (The Great Book on Predestination).
4. *Mukhtaṣaru 'l-kalãm fi 'l-jabr* (The Concise Discussion or Predestination).
5. *Kitãb fi 'l-istiṭã'ah 'alã madhhab Hishãm wa kamã yaqulū bih* (Book on Human Capacity to act According to the School of Hishãm [ibn al-Ḥakam – see §76] and he [Abū Muḥammad] accepted what he [Hishãm] said about it).
6. *ar-Radd 'alã Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-'Allãf fī anna na'ima 'l-jannah munqaṭi'* (Refutation of Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-'Allãf [leader of the Mu'tazilah in his time, and one of the most famous of their *imãm*s (135/753–235/850)] Concerning [his theory] that the Felicity of Paradise was Temporary).
7. *an-Naqḍ 'alã Abu 'l-Hudhayl fi 'l-ma'rifah* (Disproof of What Abu 'l-Hudhayl Says about Recognition of Divine Realities).
8. *ar-Radd 'alã ahli 't-ta'jīz* (Refutation of Believers in *ta'jīz* [which apparently means the inability of men to perceive the realities, being the dismissal of the writing of Abū 'Īsã al-Warrãq – see §96-bk.7]).
9. *Masãiluhu li 'l-Jubbã'ī fī masãi shattã* (Questioning of al-Jubbã'ī [Abū 'Alī] on Diverse Matters).
10. *ar-Radd 'alã Abū 'Alī al-Jubbã'ī fī raddihi 'ala 'l-munajjimīn* (Refutation of Abū 'Alī al-Jubbã'ī Concerning His Refutation of the Asronomers).
11. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-munajjimīn* (Refutation of the Astronomers).
12. *Majãlisuhu ma'a Abu 'l-Qãsim al-Balkhī* (His Discussions with Abu 'l-Qãsim al-Balkhī [al-Ka'bī al-Mu'tazilī, 273/836–319/931]).

13. *al-Insãn* (Man).
14. *ar-Radd ʻalã ahli 'l-manṭiq* (Refutation of the Logicians).
15. *Fi 'r-radd ʻalã man qãla bi 'r-ruʼyah li 'l-bãrī ʻazza wa jalla* (Refutation of Those Who Claim that the Creator, to Whom Belong Might and Majesty, can be Seen).
16. *ar-Radd ʻalã aṣḥãbi 'l-manzilah bayna 'l-manzilatayn fi 'l-waʻīd* (Refutation of Those Who Believe in a Stage Between the Two Stages in Threats and Promise [i.e., the view that the committer of great sins was neither a believer nor an unbeliever but somewhere between the two. This is the belief of the Muʻtazilah]).
17. *ar-Radd ʻalã aṣḥãbi 't-tanãsukh* (Refutation of Those Who Believe in the Transmigration of Souls).
18. *ar-Radd ʻala 'l-mujassimah* (Refutation of [God's] Corporeality).
19. *al-Iḥtijãj li Muʻammar ibn ʻAbbãd wa nuṣratu madhhabihi* (The Argument in Favour of Muʻammar ibn ʻAbbãd [as-Sulamī, the Muʻtazilī (d. 215/830)] and Support for His Opinions).

Muʻammar ibn ʻAbbãd was the only Muʻtazilī *mutakallim* to uphold the opnions of Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam concerning the nature of man. The title of this work indicates that Abū Muḥammad an-Nawbakhtī was here upholding the views of Muʻammar ibn ʻAbbãd against the other Muʻtazilīs.

20. *ar-Radd ʻalã Thãbit ibn Qurrah* (Refutation of Thãbit ibn Qurrah).
21. *Ḥujajun ṭabīʻiyyah mustakhrajah min kutubi Arasṭã[ṭã]līs fi 'r-radd ʻalã man zaʻama anna 'l-falak ḥayyun nãṭiq* (Proofs of Natural Science Extracted From the Books of Aristotle for the Refutation of Those Who Claim that the Celestial Spheres are Rational).
22. *Ikhtiṣãr (al-kawn wa 'l-fasãd) li Arasṭã[ṭã]līs* (Summary [of Generation and Corruption] According to Aristottle).

b) Sects and other writings:

23. *al-Ãrãʼ wa 'd-diyãnãt* (Opinions and Religions), described by an-Najãshī as "a great, excellent book containing much knowledge."
24. *Firaqu 'sh-Shīʻah* (The Sects of the Shīʻah).
25. *ar-Radd ʻalã firaqi 'sh-Shīʻah mã khalãʼa 'l-Imãmiyyah* (Refutation of Shīʻah Sects. Apart From the Imãmiyyah).
26. *an-Nukat ʻalã Ibn ar-Rawandī* (Some Points Against Ibn ar-Rawandī).

c) The Imãmate:

27. *al-Jãmiʻ fi 'l-imãmah* (The Complete Work About the Imãmate).
28. *al-Ḥujaj fi 'l-imãmah* (Proofs of the Imãmate).
29. *al-Mūḍiḥ fī ḥurūbi Amīru 'l-Muʼminīn ʻalayhi 's-salãm* Explanantion of

the Wars of Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him).

30. *ar-Radd 'al 'l-Wãqifah* (Refutation of al-Wãqifah see §96-bk.26]).
31. *ar-Radd 'alã Yaḥyã ibn Aṣfaḥ fi 'l-imãmah* (Refutation of Yaḥyã ibn Aṣfaḥ [Abū Zakariyyã, a Khãrijite *mutakallim* (ash-Shahrastãnī, vol.1, p.138)] Concerning the Imãmate).
32. *an-Naqḍ 'alã Ja'far ibn Ḥarb fi 'l-imãmah* (Refutation of Ja'far ibn Ḥarb [al-Mu'tazilī al-Baghdãdī (177/793–236/850)] Concerning the Imãmate).
33. *ar-Radd ala 'l-ghulãt* (Refutation of the Extremists).

d) Discusssions in *kalãm*:

34. *Jawãbãtuhu li Abū Ja'far ibn Qibah* (His Answers to Abū Ja'far ibn Qibah [the Imãmī *mutakallim* – see §112]).
35. *Jawãbãt ukhar lahu* (Other Answers to Him).
36. *Sharḥ majãlisihi ma'a Abū 'Abdillãh ibn Mumlak* (Commentary on His Discussion with Abū 'Abdillãh ibn Mumlak [the Imãmī *mutakallim* – see §109]).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijãl*, p.462; *al-Fihrist*, p.71; an-Najãshī, pp.49-50; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.28; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, pp.225-6; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, pp.157-8; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.118-9; al-'Allãmah, p.39; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.99; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.228; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.311-2; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, pp.143-4; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.78-79; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah lī 'ulūmi 'l-Islãm*, pp.369-70; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, p.258; *al-A'lãm*, vol.2, p.239; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.3, p.298; Sezgin, I, 539, 33; *Khãndãn-e Nawbakhtī*, pp.125-65.]

§74. al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsã al-Khashshãb: One of the companions o f the Imãm al-'Askarī, peace be upon him: "Among our prominent co-sectarians, famous, greatly knowledgeable and well-versed in *ḥadīth*, author of many writings", among which are: *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Wãqifah*. Among those who narrated from him was Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣaffãr (d. 290/903).
[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.74; *ar-Rijãl*, pp.430, 462; an-Najãshī, p.33; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, p.156; Ibn Dãwūd, p.119; al-'Allãmah, p.42; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.99; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.227; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.311; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, p.146; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.1, p.234; *Lisãnu l-mīzãn*, vol.2, p.258.]

§75. Hibatullãh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, Abū Naṣr al-Kãtib al-Baghdãdī, famous as **Ibn Barniyyah (fl. 400/1010):** an-Najãshī says: "He heard many *aḥãdīth*, and he practised *kalãm* . . ."

[an-Najãshī, p.343; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, p.212; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.366-7, 524; al-'Allãmah, p.263; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.368; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.311; *Naḍdu 'l-īḍãḥ*, p.354; *Tawḍīḥu 'l-ishtibãh*, p.297; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.290; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.380; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.19, p.308.]

§76. Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam, Abū Muḥammad al-Kindī, ash-Shaybãnī, al-Kūfī (*c.*105/723–*c.*189/805): (No biography.)

§77. Hishãm ibn Sãlim, Abū Muḥammad al-Juwãliqī al-Ju'fī al-Kūfī: (No biography.)

§78. Ḥubaysh ibn Mubashshir ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, Abū 'Abdillãh ath-Thaqafī, originally **aṭ-Ṭūsī,** then **al-Baghdãdī (d. 258/872):** He was a brother of Ja'far ibn Mubashshir, Abū Muḥammad al-Baghdãdī (d. 234/848). The famous Mu'tazilī *mutakallim* (Ibn) an-Nadīm mentioned him when he gave the biography of his brother, Ja'far: "He had a brother who was known as Ḥubaysh, who knew *kalãm*, but he did not reach the degree of Ja'far and had less knowledge than him."
[(Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.208, Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, p.121; ad-Dãwūdī, *Ṭabaqãtu 'l-mufassirīn*, vol.1, p.125; adh-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lãmi 'n-nubalã'*, vol.10, p.549.]

an-Najãshī said: "Ḥubaysh ibn Mubashshir, a brother of Ja'far ibn Mubashshir, Abū 'Abdillãh, was a cosectarian of ours who narrated many non-Imãmite Traditions. He wrote a book of great excellence called *Akhbãru 's-Salaf* (Reports concerning the Predecessors) in which he made accusations against the predecessors of 'Alī, Amī al-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him, . . . 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn ibn Mūsã az-Zarrãd [narrated from him and said: 'His name was Muḥammad and his *laqab* was Ḥubaysh, [and he was] a brother of Ja'far ibn Mubashshir, the government scribe (*al-kãtib*).'"
[an-Najãshī, p.146, (#.379); *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, p.82; al-'Allãmah, p.64; Ibn Dãwūd, p.100; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.82; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.179; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.254; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.4, p.235; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.332.]

Non-Imãmīs also wrote biographies of him. al-Khaṭīb and Ibnu 'l-Jawzī said: "He was an eminent *faqīh*, counted among the respected scholars of Baghdad." ad-Dãrquṭnī said: "He was a trustworthy man, and Ibn Ḥibbãn included him among the trustworthy, and Ibn Mãjah included narrations from him [in his *Sunan*]."

[*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.8, p.272; *Tahdhību 'l-kamãl*, vol.5, pp.415-7; *Tahdhību 't-tahdhīb*, vol.2, p.195; *Akhbãru 'l-quḍãt*, vol.1, p.246; *al-Ikmãl*, vol.2, p.331; *ath-Thiqãt*, vol.8, p.217, (where he is called Ibn Mubashshir ibn al-Ward).]

al-Khaṭīb said in his biography of his brother Ja'far: "He was a brother of Ḥubaysh ibn Mubashshir, the *faqīh*." (*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.7, p.162)

al-Mas'ūdī said, when he mentioned those brothers who were members of different sects: "Likewise were Ja'far ibn Mubashshir, one of the clever and ascetic Mu'tazilī *'ulamã'*, and his brother, Ḥubaysh ibn Mubashshir, one of *'ulamã'* of the Traditionalists and a leader among the literalists (*ḥashwiyyah*), who opposed his brother, Ja'far; and between them there were debates, mutual hatred, and wide differences for a long time, and each of them swore not to speak to the other till he returned to his Creator." (*Murūju 'dh-Dhahab*, vol.3, p.194 [Paris ed. vol.5, p.443].)

The Ḥanbalites also mention him: ". . . the *faqīh*, originally aṭ-Ṭūsī, a brother of Ja'far ibn Mubashshir, the *mutakallim*, who related from our *imãm* some narrations . . ." Thus they counted him among the co-sectarians of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, and one of his immediate followers. (*Ṭabaqãtu 'l-Ḥanãbilah*, vol.1, p.147; *al-Manhaju 'l-Aḥmad*, vol.1, p.139)

Ismã'īl Pãshã al-Baghdãdī said: "Ḥubaysh, Abū 'Abdillãh, Muḥammad ibn Mubashshir ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, ath-Thaqafī, aṭ-Ṭūsī, al-Baghdãdī, the Shī'ī, famous as Ḥubaysh, died 158 [*sic.*, read 258], author of *Akhbãru 's-Salaf*." (*Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.2, p.8). He elsewhere gave this title: "*Akhbãru 's-Salaf fī tarãjimi 'r-rijãl* [compare with an-Najãshī above] by Abū 'Abdillãh, Muḥammad ibn Mubashshir, whose *laqab* was Ḥubaysh, who was a Shī'ī." (*Īḍãḥu 'l-maknūn*, vol.1, p.42).

§79. al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, Abū 'Abdillãh al-Miṣrī (3rd/9th cent.): an-Najãshī says: "He was a trustworthy *mutakallim* who resided in Egypt . . . He wrote several books, including: *Kitãbu 'l-Imãmah wa 'r-radd 'ala 'l-Karãbīsī* (Book on the Imãmate and Refutation of al-Karãbīsī [al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ash-Shãfi'ī, a *mutakallim* and a *faqīh* (d. 248/862) among whose many writings was a book called *al-Imãmah* – see *al-A'lãm*, vol.2, p.266; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn,* vol.4, pp.38-39.]). al-'Allãmah says: "He was a *faqīh* and a *mutakallim*."

[an-Najãshī, p.52; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, pp.187-8; al-'Allãmah, p.52; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.107; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.248; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.336; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, pp.37-38; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.194.]

§80. al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū 'Abdillãh ibn Bãbūyah

(Bãbawayh) al-Qummī (d. 418/1027): The son of §40 and brother of §120. an-Najãshī says: "Trustworthy, he has many books." Among his books is *at-Tawḥīd wa nafyi 't-tashbīh* (Divine Unity and the Denial of Anthropomorphization).
[an-Najãshī, p.54; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, p.190; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.125-6; al-'Allãmah, p.50; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.108; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, pp.248-9; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.338; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.6, p.45; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, p.306; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.4, p.487; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.115.]

§81. al-Ḥusayn ibn Barakah al-Ḥalabī: A *faqīh* and *mutakallim*. Ibn Ḥajar wrote a biography of him in which he said: "Ibn Abī Ṭayyi' mentions him among the Imãmī Shī'ah. He wrote *Kitãbu 'n-Nibrãs fi 'r-radd 'alã ahli 'l-qiyãs* (Book of Light in Refutation of the Upholders of Analogical Reasoning [in Law])." (*Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, p.275.)

§82. al-Ḥusayn ibn Bishr ibn 'Alī ibn Bishr aṭ-Ṭarãbulusī, known as **al-Qãḍī:** Ibn Ḥajar says: "Ibn Abī Ṭayyi' mentions him among the Shī'ī scholars (*rijãl*), and says: 'He was the patron of the Dãru 'l-'Ilm (House of Knowledge) in Tripoli . . . He held debates with al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdãdī (Abū Bakr, Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Thãbit, al-Ḥãfiẓ al-Ash'arī ash-Shãfi'ī [392/1002–463/1072]). al-Karãjikī (see §122) mentions this in (the account of) his travels, and says: "He was judged to be more advanced in his knowledge than al-Khaṭīb."'" (*Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, p.275)

§83. al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Bundãr ibn Bãd ibn Būyah (?) (Ibn Bãbawayh [?]), Abū 'Abdillãh al-Anmãṭī, famous as **Ibn Aḥmã aṣ-Ṣamṣãmī (351/962–439/1048):** al-Khaṭīb gives his biography and mentions that he collected *ḥadīth* from many narrators, "and he embraced Mu'tazilism and Shī'ism, but he manifested stupidity and evinced ignorance in what he embraced; he used to call and argue in favour of it." al-Khaṭīb related that he used to say that his father was from Qum. But al-Khaṭīb is mistaken when he mixes Shī'ism and Mu'tazilism in the belief of aṣ-Ṣamṣãmī. We have given many examples of such errors in our previous discussion. aṣ-Ṣamṣãmī was, in fact, an Imãmī, since this was the belief of all the people of Qum. Therefore, it is to be expected that al-Khaṭīb should ascribe "stupidity and ignorance" to him. We know that if aṣ-Ṣamṣãmī had held the belief of the enemies of the Imãms of the *Ahlu 'l-Bayt*, peace be

upon them, al-Khaṭīb would have not made such an accusation against him. [*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.8, p.35; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.133; *al-Ansãb*, vol.8, p.328; *al-Lubãb*, vol.2, pp.246-7; *Mīzãnu 'l-i'tidãl*, vol.1, p.532; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, p.277.]

§84. al-Ḥusayn ibn Ishkīb al-Marwazī as-Samarqandī (3rd/9th cent.): He was one of the companions of al-Imãm Abū Muḥammad al-'Askarī (232/846–260/874). Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He resided in Samarqand and Kishsh (Kiss), a scholar, well-read, revered, a *mutakallim*, a *faqīh*, a debater, an author of books, subtle in *kalãm*, and outstanding in debate." And an-Najãshī says: "A most trustworthy and well-proved man." al-Ash'arī and ash-Shahrastãnī count him among the authors of Imãmiyyah books, and ash-Shahrastãnī names his father "Ishkãb".
[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijãl*, pp.429, 462-3; an-Najãshī, pp.35-36; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, pp.35-36; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, pp.167-8; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.121-2; al-'Allãmah, pp.49-50; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.102; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.23; *Tawḍīḥu 'l-ishtibãh*, pp.126-7; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.320-1; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, pp.202-4; *Maqãlãtu 'l-Islãmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.127; *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, p.190.]

§85. al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn 'Alī Abū 'Abdillãh al-Ḥamdãnī al-Qazwīnī (d. 498/1104-5) (the son of §148)**:** Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says: "He was trustworthy (in the narration of *ḥadīth*), an important figure, who studied under aṭ-Ṭūsī all of the latter's works in thirty years in al-Ghariyy (= an-Najaf al-Ashraf)." But some question the reliability of the report of this period, because Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah did not reside for thirty years in an-Najaf al-Ashraf, and in Baghdad he could not have written all his works (see §126). I believe the intention of the author was to say that the period of his study – which was thirty years – ended in an-Najaf al-Ashraf, not that that were all in an-Najaf al-Ashraf, but the entry is incomplete.

ar-Rãfi'ī wrote his biography in *at-Tadwīn fī tãrīkh Qazwīn*, and mentioned that he traveled to Iraq and heard traditions from al-Qãḍī Abu 'ṭ-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ṭãhir ibn 'Abdillah al-Baghdãdī (348/960–450/1058), a Shãfi'ī scholar *faqīh*, and Abū Muḥammd al-Jawharī, al-Ḥãfiẓ al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Baghdãdī (363/974–4541062), a scholar of *ḥadīth*. Then he returned to Qazwīn and died there. He had some works among which were: *Hatk asrãri 'l-Bãṭiniyyah* (Disclosure of the Secrets of the Bãṭinites [i.e., the Ismã'īlites]) and *Nuṣratu 'l-ḥaqq* (Support of the Truth).
[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.219; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1,

p.255; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.103; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.345; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.6, pp.94-95; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.68; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.24, p.175; vol.25, pp.159-60; *Fihrist asmã' rijãlī 't-tadwīn*, p.24 [from the Alexandrian mnuscript of *at-Tadwīn*, p.287]: *Ta'līqãtu 'n-naqḍ*, vol.1, pp.137-8; *Ḍiyãfatu 'l-ikhwãn*, p.39; *al-Ansãb*, vol.4, p.240 (footnote); *al-Lubãb*, vol.1, p.387.]

§86. al-Ḥusayn ibn Nu'aym aṣ-Ṣaḥḥãf al-Asadī al-Kūfī: an-Najãshī said: "Trusworthy; he and his brothers 'Alī and Muḥammad narrated from Abū 'Abdillãh [aṣ-Ṣãdiq], peace be upon him, . . . Muḥammad ibn 'Abduh said: ''Abdu 'r-Raḥmãn ibn Nu'aym aṣ-Ṣãḥḥãf, the freed-slave of Banū Asad, had a continued line of descendence, and his brother al-Ḥusayn was a proficient *mutakallim*.'"
[an-Najãshī, pp.53-54 (#.120); *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, pp.204-5; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, 2nd ed., vol.6, pp.108-11.]

§87. al-Ḥusayn ibn Rūḥ ibn Abī Baḥr an-Nawbakhtī (d. 326/938): One of the most knowledgeable of the Nawbakhtīs, in *fiqh*, learning, letters; eminent, truthful and pious. He is counted as a *mutakallim*. He was entrusted with deputyship by the twelth Imãm, the Awaited Proof, peace be upon him, during the time of his minor occultation, after the death of ash-Shaykh Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmãn al-'Amrī (d. 305/917).
[Refer for the history and problems of his deputyship to: *al-Biḥãr*, vol.51, pp.359-62; and for his biography to: *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah lī 'ulūmi 'l-Islãm*, p.412; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.26, pp.68-78; *Khãndãn-e Nawbakhtī*, pp.212-38; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.4, p.8.]

§88. al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Ubaydillãh ibn Ibrãhīm, Abū 'Abdillãh al-Ghaḍãirī al-Baghdãdī (d. 411/1020): One of the prominent Imãmī scholars, one of their *faqīh*s and scholars of *ḥadīth*, he had extensive knowledge of *ḥadīth*, and had heard many. He was a *faqīh* and a *mutakallim*, and among his books were:-

1. *Kashfu 't-tamwīh wa 'l-ghummah* (The Uncovering of Falsification and Distress);
2. *'Adadu 'l-aimmah wa-mã shaḍḍa'ala 'l-muṣannifīn min dhãlik* (The Number of the Imãms and the Irregularities Among Writers in This Matter);
3. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-ghulãt wa 'l-mufawwiḍah* (Refutation of Extremism and Mufawwiḍah [those who believed that Allãh left the governance of the

universe to the Prophet and the Imãms]).

[an-Najãshī, pp.54-55; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijãl*, pp.470-1; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, pp.182-3; Ibn Dãwūd, p.124; al-‘Allãmah, p.50; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.106; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.246; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.333; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, pp.19-21; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.2, pp.312-4; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.94; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.2, p.496; *Ṭabaqãt a‘lãmi 'sh-Shī‘ah*, 5th cent., p.64; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.10, p.214; vol.15, p.232; vol.18, p.24; *A‘yãnu 'sh-Shī‘ah*, vol.26, pp.351-60; *Mīzãnu 'l-i‘tidãl*, vo.1, p.541; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, pp.288-9, 297; *Īḍãḥu 'l-maknūn*, vol.2, p.358; *Hadiy-yatu 'l-‘ãrifīn*, vol.2, p.308; *al-A‘lãm*, vol.2, p.263; *Mu‘jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.4, p.25-26.]

I

§89. Ibrãhīm ibn Abī Ḥafṣ, Abū Isḥãq al-Kãtib: Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah and an-Najãshī say: "Reliable, a prominent figure among the companions of Abū Muḥammad al-‘Askarī, peace be upon him (232/846–260/874). He is the author of *ar-Radd ‘ala 'l-ghãliyah wa Abi 'l-Khaṭṭãb wa aṣḥãbihi* (Refutation of the Extremist, and Abu 'l-Khaṭṭãb and his Companions)."

[an-Najãshī p.16; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.30; *Ma‘ãlimu 'l-‘ulamã’*, p.3; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.1, p.32; Ibn Dãwūd, p.13; al-‘Allãmah, p.5; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.6; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.16; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.11; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.1, p.61; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.10, p.212; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.1, p.49.]

§90. Ibrãhīm ibn Ja‘far ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrãhīm ibn Nawbakh: Grandson of (§27) scholar, jurist and *mutakallim*.

[*Ta’sīsu 'sh-Shī‘ah*, p.374; *A‘yãnu 'sh-Shī‘ah*, vol.6, p.88.]

§91. Ibrãhīm ibn Sulaymãn ibn (Abī) Dãḥah, Abū ‘Ubaydillãh al-Muzanī al-Baṣrī: He narrated from Abū ‘Abdillãh aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon him, (83/702–148/765). It is said of him: "He was one of the most distinguished of the Imãmiyyah in our science from al-Baṣrah: in *fiqh*, *kalãm*, letters, and poetry. He wrote several books."

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.27; an-Najãshī, p.12; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.1, pp.44-45; Ibn Dãwūd, p.15; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.9; al-‘Allãmah, p.4; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.22; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.18; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.1, p.92; *Mu‘jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.1, p.35; and concerning him as described by at-Tūnakī, *Mu‘jamu 'l-muṣannīfīn*, vol.3, pp.145-6.]

al-Jãḥiẓ (150/767–255/869) mentions him, and he says that he was a Shī‘ī, a Rãfiḍī, and he used to attend the sessions of Abū ‘Ubaydah, Ma‘mar

ibn al-Muthannã (110/728–209/824). al-Jãḥiẓ narrates from him (*al-Bayãn wa 't-tabyīn*, vol.1, p.84; al-Ḥaywãn, vol.1, pp.61, 62; vol.2, pp.82.153; vol.3, pp.402-3; vol.6, p.61).

§92. ʻĪsã ibn Rawḍah: He was a companion or the chamberlain of al-Manṣūr, the ʻAbbãsid caliph (95/714 – caliphate 136/754–158/775). He was a *mutakallim* who excelled in his art. He was also the author of a book on the Imãmate, and it is mentioned of him that he sometimes discussed the Imãmate with al-Manṣūr.
[an-Najãshī, pp.225-6; *Majmaʻu 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, p.31; Ibn Dãwūd, p.267; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.261; *Jãmiʻu 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, pp.6501; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.390; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shīʻah li ʻulūmi 'l-Islãm*, pp.350-1; *Muʻjam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.12, p.205.]

§93. Isḥãq ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Bakrãn, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-ʻAqrã'ī at-Tammãr al-Kūfī (*c.*300/913–*c.*400/1010): A collector of *ḥadīth* who heard many narrations, and had a long life. Among his books were:-

1. *ar-Radd ʻala 'l-ghulãt* (Refutation of Extremists);
2. *Nafyu 's-sahw ʻani 'n-nabiyy, ṣalla 'llãhu ʻalayhi wa ãlihi wa sallam* (Denial of Forgetfulness in the Prophet, may Allãh bless him and his progeny and preserve them).

[an-Najãshī, p.57; *Majmaʻu 'r-rijãl*, vol.1, pp.186-7; Ibn Dãwūd, p.426; al-ʻAllãmah, p.201; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.39; *Jãmiʻu 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.81; *Naḍdu 'l-īḍãḥ*, p.54; *Tawḍīḥu 'l-ishtibãh*, p.53-54; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.113-4; *Muʻjam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, pp.42-43; *Ṭabaqãt aʻlãmi 'sh-Shīʻah*, 4th cent., pp.60-61; *adh-Dharīʻah*, vol.10, pp.212-3; vol.24, p.269.]

§94. Isḥãq ibn Muḥammad, ash-Shaykh Abū Ṭãlib [the brother of §98]**:** Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says: "They (two brothers) studied with ash-Shaykh Abū Jaʻfar aṭ-Ṭūsī all the latter's writings; both of them have long and short books on beliefs in both Arabic and Persian."
[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.206; *Jãmiʻu 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.91; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, (Isḥãq, §94), vol.2, p.32; (Ismãʻīl, §98), vol.2, p.39; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, (§94), vol.1, pt.2, p.121; (#.163) p.142; *Muʻjam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, pp.68-69, 169; *Ṭabaqãt aʻlãmi 'sh-Shīʻah*, 5th cent., p.33; Introduction to aṭ-Ṭūsī's *Rijãl*, p.44.]

§95. Ismãʻīl ibn ʻAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū Saʻd as-Sammãn ar-Rãzī

(363/974–447/1055): He was one of the great memorizers of *ḥadīth*, a commentator of the Qur'ãn, a *faqīh* and a *mutakallim*. The Imãmī biographers have written his life and have described him just as we have done, and they express the firm opinion that he was Imãmī. ash-Shaykh Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says of him: "He was the leading Qur'ãnic commentator, quite emphatically reliable, and a memorizer (of *ḥadīth*). He wrote:-

1. *al-Bustãn fī tafsīri 'l-Qur'ãn*;
2. *Kitãbu 'r-Rashãd* (Book of Guidance) in *fiqh*;
3. *al-Madkhal* (an introduction to grammer [syntax];
4. *ar-Riyãḍ* (The Walled Garden) in *ḥadīth*;
5. *Safīnatu 'n-najãt* (The Ship of Safety) on the Imãmate;
6. *Kitãbu 'ṣ-Ṣalãt* (Book of Prayer);
7. *Kitãbu 'l-Ḥajj* (Book of Pilgrimage);
8. *al-Miṣbãḥ* (The Lamp) on worship; and
9. *an-Nūr* (The Light) on preaching.

"The two Sayyids: al-Murtaḍã and al-Mujtabã, the sons of ad-Dã'ī al-Ḥusaynī ar-Rãzī, have informed us of this from ash-Shaykh al-Ḥãfẓ al-Mufīd Abū Muḥammad 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmãn ibn Aḥmad an-Naysãbūrī (ar-Rãzī, see § 10) from the man himself."

Non-Imãmīs have written about him, and have described him as being truthful and trustworthy (in narration of *ḥadīth*), and have said that he was a great memorizer of traditions who travelled extensively within Iraq, Syria, the Ḥijãz and the countries of the Maghrib as well as Iran, in search of *ḥadīth*; that he met narrators and *shaykh*s (of *ḥadīth*); that he disdained the things of this world, was pious, exerted himself, fasted and kept his prayers; and they have exaggerated about the number of *shaykh*s with whom he studied, it is said that the number of them was some 3,000 or 3,500. They say that he was a leader without rival in the different styles of recitation (of the Qur'ãn), that he was a leader in the sciences of *fiqh* especially in the *fiqh* of Abū Ḥanīfah and his companions, and in the Zaydī *fiqh*, and in the differences in legal opinion between Abū Ḥanīfah and ash-Shaãfi'ī. The Ḥanafīs even count him as one of them. They also say he was a leader of the "'Adliyyah wa 'l-Mu'tazilah", and a Mu'tazilī scholar, *faqīh* and *mutakallim* who spread the Mu'tazilī dosctrine. He held that man was responsible for his own actions and denied *qadar*, which, in the language of the Mu'tazilah meant compulsion (*jabr*), and they understood a '*qadarī*' to be one who believed in *qadar*, while to their opponents it meant the denier of *qadar*. He wrote a short work on this topic

However, we have found ourselves obliged to accept what the Imãmīs

said, firstly, because they express firm opinions in what they say about him, while the non-Imãmīs show confusion about his legal school, that is, whether he was Ḥanafī or Zaydī. It is clear from what the Imãmīs considered him to be pursuing in his books on *fiqh* and *kalãm*, and especially on the Imãmate, that there can be no room left for doubt or scepticism about his beliefs, and this is confirmed by what Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says about him and the length he goes to provide evidence for this view. However, as for his appearing to be a Ḥanafī and a Mu‘tazilī (and it seems from his behaviour that he appeared to be a Mu‘tazilī particularly in his own country), he must surely have been providing a cover for himself and the success of his mission in his very extensive travel and his mixing with this formidable number of scholars of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* who differed in their schools and sects, especially with the hostility that existed towards the Shī‘ah in general and the Imãmiyyah among them in particular. And if they had known his inner secrets, the least they would have done would have been to deny him access to them, and that was the least of the difficulties, which faced as-Sammãn in these very extensive scientific journeys. Secondly, because in his family there was someone who was Shī‘ī, even Imãmī, because Abū Sa‘d as-Sam‘ãnī (506/1113–562/1167) met in Rayy one of his family, Yaḥyã ibn Ṭãhir ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū Sa‘d as-Sammãn ar-Rãzī (463/1071–after 537/1143), the grandson of the brother of Abū Sa‘d (the biographer) and he described him as: "One of those with Shī‘ī and Mu‘tazilī tendencies." (*at-Taḥbīr – Mashyakhatu 's-Sam‘ãnī*, vol.2, pp.375-6; see also *al-Ansãb*, vol.7, pp.210-1; and *Ta‘līqãtu 'n-naqḍ*, vol.1, p.293.)

Muntajabu 'd-Dīn gives the biography of another member of his family: "The *faqīh*, Abu 'n-Najm Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdi 'l-Wahhãb ibn ‘Īsã as-Sammãn (ar-Rãzī), pious, *faqīh*, memorizer (of the Qur’ãn), who wrote books on *fiqh*." He was one of ash-Shaykh Muntajabu 'd-Dīn's contemporaries (Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.268; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.146; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.280; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.148; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, p.295; *Ṭabaqãt a‘lãmi 'sh-Shī‘ah*, 5th cent., p.168; 6th cent., p.270.)

Abū Sa‘d died in Shãm (Syria) far from his homeland, but they differ in dating his death. Some say 447/1055, which seems to us the most likely, but 443/1051, 445/1053 and 450/1058 are also mentioned.

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, pp.205-6; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.99; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.39; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.140; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, p.152; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.1, p.113; *A‘yãnu*

'sh-Shī'ah, vol.12, pp.35-38; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, pp.115-6, 340; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.32; *al-Ansãb*, vol.7, pp.209-10; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.65; *Mīzãnu 'l-i'tidãl*, vol.1, p.39; *Tadhkiratu 'l-ḥuffãẓ*, vol.3, pp.1121-3; *al-'Ibar*, vol.3, p.209; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.1, pp.421-2; *Shadharãtu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.73, *al-Wãfī bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.9, pp.156-7; *al-Jawãhiru 'l-muḍiyyah fī ṭabaqãti 'l-Ḥanafiyyah*, vol.1, p.156; *Ṭabaqãtu 'l-mufassirīn*, vol.1, pp.109-10; *ar-Risãlatu 'l-mustaṭrafah*, p.59; *an-Nujūmu 'z-zãhirah*, vol.5, p.51; *Ṭabaqãtu 'l-ḥuffãz*, pp.430-1; *Tahdhīb Tãrīkh Ibn 'Asãkir*, vol.3, pp.38-39; *Kashfu ẓ-ẓunūn*, vol.2, p.1890; *Īḍãḥu 'l-maknūn*, vol.1, pp.181, 602; vol.2, p.18; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.1, p.210; *al-A'lãm*, vol.1, p.316; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.2, p.281.]

§96. Ismã'īl ibn 'Alī ibn Isḥãq ibn Abī Sahl ibn Nawbakht, Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī al-Baghdãdī (237/851–311/923): Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī, an-Najãshī, al-'Allãmah al-Ḥillī and others say: "He was the chief of the *mutakallim*s of the Imãmī scholars in Baghdad, and the most illustrious of them. He was the foremost of the Nawbakhtīs in his time. He was given much respect in worldly and in religious life, and he wrote many books." (Ibn) an-Nadīm says: "He was among the great Shī'ī figures; he was erudite and learned, a *mutakallim*, and he used to hold sessions at which the *mutakallim* community were present." aṣ-Ṣafadī says: "He was one of the Imãmī Shī'ī *mutakallim*s; he was erudite, and used to hold sessions at which the *mutakallim*s were present. He has many writings in the science of *kalãm* to his credit . . . He was an author, a poet, an orator and a narrator of traditions."

The Mu'tazilī authors mention that he acquired his knowledge from Abū Hãshim ibn Abī 'Alī al-Jubbã'ī ('Abdu 's-Salãm ibn Muḥammad ibn Abdi 'l-Wahhãb [277/890–321/933], the leader of the Mu'tazilah after his father) (*Faḍlu 'l-i'tizãl wa dhikru 'l-Mu'tazilah*, p.321; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.28). But this cannot be true, because Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī was of the generation of this person's father, Abū 'Alī, and he held debates and discussions with Abū 'Alī, as can be seen from the list of his books.

Among his many books were:-

a) Unity and related matters in philosophy and *kalãm*:

1. *at-Tawḥīd* (Divine Unity).
2. *Ḥudūthu 'l-'ãlam* (The Coming into Existence of the Universe).
3. *aṣ-Ṣifãt* (Divine Attributes).
4. *ar-Radd 'alã aṣḥãbi 'ṣ-ṣifãt* (Refutation of the Believers in the Independence of Divine Attributes).
5. *Fī istiḥãlat ru'yati 'l-qadīm ta'ãlã* (On the Impossibility of Seeing the Eternal, the Sublime).

6. *ar-Radd ʻala 'l-Mujabbirah fi 'l-makhlūk wa 'l-istiṭãʻah* (Refutation of the Believers in Predestination about [their Belief that the Actions of] Created Beings [have been created by Allãh] and about [their Belief Concerning] Capacity for Action).
7. *Naqḍ mas'alah Abū ʻĪsã al-Warrãq fī qidãmi 'l-ajsãm maʻa ithbãtihi 'l-aʻrãḍ* (Disproof of the Opinion of Abū ʻĪsã al-Warrãq [al-Muʻtazilī al-Baghdãdī (d. 247/861)] Concerning the Eternity of Bodies While He had Established the Existence of Contingents).
8. *Majãlis Thãbit ibn Qurrah* (The Sessions of Thãbit ibn Qurrah [al-Ḥarrãnī as-Sãbiʻī (221/836–288/901), the famous physician, mathematician and philosopher]).
9. *al-Maʻrifah* (Recognition of the Divine Realities).
10. *al-Ḥikãyah wa 'l-maḥkiyy* (Concerning the Problem of the Original [Qur'ãn] and the Words [of the Qur'ãn and their Eternity]).
11. *al-Irjã'* (The Belief of the Murji'ites).
12. *an-Nafy wa 'l-ithbãt* (Disproof and Proof).
13. *Majãlisuhu maʻa Abū ʻAlī al-Jubbã'ī bi 'l-Ahwãz* (His Discussions with Abū ʻAlī al-Jubbã'ī [Muḥammad ibn ʻAbdi 'l-Wahhãb (235/849–303/916), the leader of the Muʻtazilah in his time] in Ahwãz).
14. *ar-Radd ʻalã Abu 'l-ʻAtãhiyyah fi 't-tawḥīd fī shiʻrihi* (Refutation of Abu 'l-ʻAtãhiyyah on *tawḥīd* in his Poems).

[Ismãʻīl ibn Abi 'l-ʻAtãhiyyah al-Qãsim ibn Suwayd al-ʻAnazī al-Kūfī, then al-Baghdãdī (130/748–211/826), the famous poet. He became famous through his poems of asceticism, which he composed at the end of his life when he turned to piety and asceticism.]

15. *al-Khuṣūṣ wa 'l-ʻumūm, wa 'l-asmã' wa 'l-aḥkãm* (Particulars and General Terms, Nouns and Predicates).

b) Prophethood:

16. *ar-Radd ʻala 'l-yahūd* (Refutation of the Jews).
17. *Tathbītu 'r-risãlah* (Confirmation of the Message, or Proofs for the Prophethood of the Holy Prophet, may Allãh bless him and his progeny and grant them peace).

c) Refutation of Ibn ar-Rawandī:

This man was Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyã ibn Isḥãq, Ibn ar-Rawandī (ar-Rawandī or ar-Riwandī) al-Marwazī (from Marwu 'r-Rūdh) al-Baghdãdī (205/820–245/859 or 298/910). He was a Muʻtazilī to begin with, then he turned against them and challenged their views, even it is said, becoming an apostate from Islam and disputing its principles and its commands. It appears that

Abū Sahl and an-Nawbakhtī paid a lot of attention to Ibn Rawandī, disproving him and those of his writings in which he had turned against Islam.

18. *(al-Kalãm fi) 'l-insãn wa 'r-radd ʻalã Ibn ar-Rawandī* (Discussion about Man and the Refutation of Ibn ar-Rawandī).
19. *Naqḍ (ʻAbathu 'l-ḥikmah) ʻalã Ibn ar-Rawandī* (Disproof of Ibn ar-Rawandī's [Book] *ʻAbathu 'l-ḥikmah* [That the Wisdom (of Allãh) is Only in Play]).
20. *(as-Sabk) Naqḍ "at-Tãj" ʻalã Ibn ar-Rawandī* ([The Formulation] of the Disproof of the Book "at-Tãj" of Ibn ar-Rawandī).
21. *Naqḍ "Ijtihãdu 'r-ra'y" ʻalã Ibn ar-Rawandī* (Disproof of the Book *Ijtihãdu 'r-ra'y* [The Speculative Derivation of Legal Opinions] of Ibn ar-Rawandī).

d) Imãmate:

22. *al-Istīfã' fi 'l-imãmah* (Collection of Proofs on the Imãmate).
23. *at-Tanbīh fi 'l-imãmah* (Remark Concerning the Imãmate).
24. *al-Jumal fi 'l-imãmah* (The Important Points Concerning the Imãmate).
25. *ar-Radd ʻalã Muḥammad ibn al-Azhar* (Perhaps Abū Jaʻfar al-Kãtib al-Baghdãdī [200/815–279/892] Concerning the Imãmate).
26. *ar-Radd ʻala 'ṭ-Ṭãṭarī fi 'l-imãmah* (Refutation of aṭ-Ṭãṭarī [ʻAlī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Wãqifī, one of the most distinguished members of the Wãqifah[15], and one of their leaders] Concerning the Imãmate).
27. *ar-Radd ʻala 'lghulãt* (Refutation of the Extremists).

e) *Uṣūlu 'l-Fiqh* (The Principles of Jurisprudence):

28. *ar-Radd ʻalã ʻĪsã ibn Abãn fi 'l-qiyãs* (Refutation of ʻĪsã ibn Abãn [Ibn Ṣadaqah, Abū Mūsã al-Baghdãdī the Ḥanafite (d. 221/836), the *qãḍī* (judge) of Baṣrah, and one of the important Ḥanafī jurists; he wrote: *Ithbãtu 'l-qiyãs* (The Demostration of Analogical Reasoning) and *Ijtihãdu 'r-ra'y* (The Speculative Derivation of Legal Opinions), (see *al-Aʻlãm*, vol.3, p.283; and *Muʻjamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.8, p.18)] Concerning Analogical Reasoning).
29. *Naqḍ mas'alah ʻĪsã ibn Abãn fi 'l-ijtihãd* (Disproof of the Ideas of ʻĪsã ibn Abãn Concerning the Derivation of Legal Opinions).
30. *Ibṭãlu 'l-qiyãs* (The Invalidation of Analogical Reasoning).
31. *Naqḍ risãlah ash-Shãfiʻī* (Rejection of ash-Shãfiʻī's *Risãlah* [Muḥammad ibn Idrīs ash-Shãfiʻī, Imãm of the Shãfiʻī Legal School (150/767–204/820), whose *ar-Risãlah fī uṣūli 'l-fiqh* (Treatise on the Principles of

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[15] A sect who rejected the Imãmate of ar-Riḍã, peace be upon him, and "held to" (*waqafa*) the Imãmate of Mūsã ibn Jaʻfar, peace be upon them both.

Jurisprudence) is one of his most famous books]).
[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.35-36; an-Najãshī, p.25; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, pp.6-7; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.25; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.1, pp.217-9; Ibn Dãwūd, p.58; al-'Allãmah, p.9; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.45; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.99; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.139-40; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, pp.149-52; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.1, pp.111-2; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.12, pp.9-35; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah lī 'ulūmi 'l-Islãm*, pp.367-9; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.63-64; *al-Wãfī bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.9, pp.171-2; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.1, pp.424-5; ash-Shahrastãnī, *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, p.190; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.2, pp.279-80; *Khãndãn-e Nawbakhtī*, pp.96-123.]

§97. Ismã'īl ibn Kathīr al-'Ijlī al-Kūfī, Abū Ma'mar: Ibn Ḥajar said: "aṭ-Ṭūsī mentioned him among the Shī'ī traditionalists saying: 'He was one of those who narrated from Ja'far [aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon him], and he debated with Abū Ḥanīfah, and he was a knowledgeable, excellent debator.'" (*Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.1, pp.430-1, [#.1333]; and from it *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.12, p.70.)

In the printed edition of aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijãl* (p.148) he is mentioned among the companions of aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon him: "Ismã'īl ibn Kathīr al-'Ijlī al-Kūfī", but nothing more is added (and likewise in *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, p.221; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.46; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.101; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, p.164).

§98. Ismã'īl ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Bãbawayh, ash-Shaykh Abū Ibrãhīm ar-Rãzī (d.500/1106), [for his biography, see §94 his brother].

§99. Ismã'īl ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismã'īl, Abū Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī al-Makkī (3rd/8th cent.): "He was the most distinguished of Meccan Imãmiyyah scholars, and he was trustworthy in what he narrated." He has several books, including:-

1. *at-Tawḥīd* (Divine Unity);
2. *al-Ma'rifah* (Recognition of Divine Realities); and
3. *al-Imãmah* (The Imãmate).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.35; an-Najãshī, pp.24-25; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.6; Ibn Dãwūd, p.59; al-'Allãmah, p.9; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.46-47; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.102; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.142; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, pp.166-9.]

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§100. Ja‘far ibn Aḥmad ibn Ayyūb, Abū Sa‘īd, Ibn at-Tãjir as-Samarqandī (3rd/9th cent.): al-‘Ayyãshī (d. 320/932) narrated from him. ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He was a *mutakallim* and he wrote several books." an-Najãshī says: "He was correct in *ḥadīth* and in (his) beliefs."
[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijãl*, p.458; an-Najãshī, pp.93-94; *Ma‘ãlimu 'l-‘ulamã'*, p.27; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, pp.22-23; Ibn Dãwūd, p.82; al-‘Allãmah, p.32; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.68; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.149; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.212-3; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.4, pp.49-50.]

§101. Ja‘far ibn Aḥmad ibn Wandak, Abū ‘Abdillãh ar-Rãzī (3rd/9th cent.): He was one of the Imãmiyyah, a *mutakallim* and a man of *ḥadīth*.
[an-Najãshī, p.95; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, p.23; Ibn Dãwūd, p.82; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.68; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.149; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.213; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.4, p.53.]

§102. Ja‘far ibn Ibrãhīm al-Ḥaḍramī: Ibn Ḥajar said: "He narrated from ‘Alī ibn Mūsã ar-Riḍã, [peace be upon him]. aṭ-Ṭūsī mentions him among the Shī‘ī Traditionists saying: 'He was no pedestrian (*lit.* a horseman, *fursãn*) among the *mutakallim*s and *faqīh*s'." (*Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, p.107, [#.433]; and from it *A‘yãnu 'sh-Shī‘ah*, vol.15, p.245)

In the printed edition of aṭ-Ṭūsī's *Rijãl* (p.371) we find him mentioned among the companions of ar-Riḍã, peace be upon him, "Ja‘far ibn Ismã‘īl al-Ḥaḍramī", and in a footnote: "in some manuscripts; Ja‘far ibn Ibrãhīm", but those who quoted from him all said "ibn Ibrãhīm" (see *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, p.22; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.67; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.148). We find nothing more than this mentioned of him.

§103. Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-‘Abbãs, Abū ‘Abdillãh al-‘Absī ad-Dūryastī ar-Rãzī (380/990–*c.*498/1105): Duryast is a village near Rayy (*Mu‘jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.2, p.484). It is said that this word is the Arab version of the word Ṭarasht (or Darasht – *Majãlisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, p.95; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.2, p.234), a village west of Tehran, into which it has now been absorbed (*Farhang-e joghrãfiyãiy-e Iran*, vol.1, p.136; *Qaṣrãn*, vol.1, pp.509, 520). Abū ‘Abdillãh ad-Duryastī was one of the greatest students of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd and ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã. It is said of him: "Trustworthy, a leading personality, just, a *faqīh*, narrator of *ḥadīth*, *mutakallim*." He died in the lifetime of his teacher ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã (355/966–436/1044), who elegized him in a *kasida* (*qaṣīdah*), which

reached the length of sixty verses (*Dīwãnu 'l-Murtaḍã*, vol.2, pp.196-200). Among his books are: *al-I'tiqãd*, (The Belief) – or in *adh-Dharī'ah*, *al-I'tiqãdãt* (The Beliefs) – and *ar-Radd 'ala 'z-Zaydiyyah* (Refutation of the Zaydites).

He was from a scholarly family in which there were many great scholars right up to the beginning of the 7th/13th century.
[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijãl*, p.459; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.27; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, p.39; ash-Shaykh Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist*: *al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, pp.215-8; Ibn Dãwūd, p.89; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.73; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.158; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.224; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.4, pp.105-6, 128-9; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.2, pp.174-9; *Lu'luatu 'l-baḥrayn*, p.243-4; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, p.480; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.2, pp.233-4; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.16, pp.70-75; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., pp.43-45; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.225; vol.10, p.200; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.3, p.144; *Majãlisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, p.95.]

Dūryast . . . *mutakallim*." He was born in 380/990.[16] In 400/1009-10 he was in Baghdad, where he heard *ḥadīth*.[17] He had a long life, for the last narration that is reported from him dates from 12.474/5.1082.[18] The Shaykh 'Abdu 'l-Jalīl al-Qazwīnī said concerning him: "[He was] famous in [all] the branches of science, a writer of many books, a narrator of many *akhbãr*, one of the great scholars of this *ṭãifah* [i.e., the Imãmīs], and one of their leading men of knowledge. Niẓãmu 'l-Mulk aṭ-Ṭūsī [the Saljuq vizier, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Isḥãq aṭ-Ṭūsī ash-Shãfi'ī (408/1018–485/1092), who was vizier for 30 years] used to visit him from Rayy in Dūryast once every two weeks. He studied with him and heard *ḥadīth* from him on account of his extensive knowledge and his eminence in science. He was from a family generations of whom were known for their knowledge, probity, and trust-worthiness."[19] The family was traced back to Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamãn al-'Absī (d. 36/656), the famous Companion. Ja'far ibn Muḥammad is reported to have lived for 118 years, and so his death must have been about 498/1105. The Sharīf al-Murtaḍã is reported to have recited an elegy for Abū 'Abdillãh

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[16] 'Abdu 'l-Ghãfir an-Naysãbūrī, *al-Muntakhab min as-siyãq fī tãrīkh Naysãbūr*, p.461 [=464]. Reported in Yãqūt, *Mu'jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.2, p.491. Both the sources give his *nisbah* as ad-Dūyasī, an error for ad-Dūryastī; see Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist*, ed. as-Sayyid 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz at-Tabãṭabã'ī, p.38.

[17] *Bishãratu 'l-Muṣṭafã*, p.104.

[18] *Jãmi'u 'l-akhbãr*, p.47 [= 51]; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, pt.3, p.366.

[19] *an-Naqḍ*, p.145; *Majãlisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, p.482; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, p.480; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.2, p.176.

Ja'far ibn Muḥammad,[20] but this cannot have been the same person, for two reasons. Firstly, there are many reports that Ja'far lived for several decades after the death of al-Murtaḍã. Second, the elegy is for a friend who showed him many proofs of friendship, including giving him advice, who helped him in times of hardship, with whom he stood in the place of a brother when friends were very scarce; this is not the kind of description that one would expect to find given by a teacher of his pupil. Among Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ad-Dūryastī's books . . .

§104. Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn Isḥãq ibn Ribãṭ, Abu 'l-Qãsim al-Bajalī al-Kūfī: "Reliable, author of books", among which were: *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Faṭaḥiyyah*; *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Wãqifah*. Abū 'Abdilãh aṣ-Ṣafwãnī (see §116) narrated these books from him.
[an-Najãshī, p.94; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, p.36; Ibn Dãwūd, p.87; al-'Allãmah, p.33; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.73; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.156; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.222; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.4, p.106; *Tabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.74; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, pp.216, 234.]

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§105. al-Karajī: I have found no reference to this person except what Ibn Shahrãshūb says: "He wrote some books among which was: *Naqḍu 'l-imãmah 'ala 'l-Jubbã'ī* (Refutation of al-Jubbã'ī's Account of the Imãmate)" (*Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.132).

§106. Khãlid ibn Yaḥyã ibn Khãlid: an-Najãshī (see §22) says: "Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn (al-Ghaḍãirī, an-Najãshī's contemporary) mentions him and says: 'I have seen a large book by him on the Imãmate; it was called: *al-Manhaj* (The Open Road).'"
[an-Najãshī, p.116; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, p.264; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.124; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, pp.293-4; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.394; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.7, p.41; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.23, p.182.]

§107. al-Khalīl ibn Ẓafar ibn al-Khalīl al-Asadī al-Kūfī (d. prob. *c.*470/1087): A *mutakallim*, scholar of *ḥadīth* and pious. He wrote several books, among which were:-

1. *al-Inṣãf wa 'l-intiṣãf* (Treating Justly and Demanding Justice);

[20] *Dīwãnu 'l-Murtaḍã*, vol.2, p.196. The editor is mistaken in believing this elegy to have been for Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ad-Dūryastī.

2. *ad-Dalãil* (The Proof);
3. *an-Nūr* (The Light);
4. *al-Bahã'* (The Splendour);
5. *Jawãbãtu 'l-Ismã'īliyyah*;
6. *Jawãbãtu 'l-Qarãmiṭah*; and
7. *Jawãbãtu 'z-Zaydiyyah*.

ash-Shaykh Ãghã Buzurg mentions that he was from the generation of Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah. In *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, it says that he died in 670/1271-2, but Ãghã Buzurg says that this is a mistake and should have been written as 470/1087.

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.229; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.298; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.111; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.403; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.7, p.76; *al-Fawãidu 'r-Raḍawiyyah*, p.172; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., pp.75-76; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.399; vol.3, p.156; vol.5, pp.201, 205, 210; vol.8, pp.236; vol.24, pp.355; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.1, p.351.]

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§108. Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Sindiyy ibn Shãhak, Abu 'l-Fatḥ ar-Ramlī, famous as **"Kushãjim" (d. 360/970):** The renowned Imãmī poet and man of letters. He was a poet, a writer, and an astronomer, excellent in many sciences. However, Ibn Sharãshūb describes him with the words: "He was a poet, an astronomer, a *mutakallim*," and all Imãmī biographers have adhered to what he wrote.

[*Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.137; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.315; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.18, p.102; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.204; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.47, pp.166-72; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.3, pp.114-5; *al-Ghadīr*, vol.4, pp.3-23.]

§109. Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillãh ibn Mumlak, Abū 'Abdillãh ibn Mumlak al-Iṣbahãnī: an-Najãshī says: "He was originally from Jurjãn, and he dwelt in Iṣbahãn (Iṣfahãn): he was an important man of our religion, of high rank and station. He had been a Mu'tazilī, but turned at the hand of 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmãn ibn Aḥmad ibn Jabrūyah, may Allãh have mercy on him." Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī and (Ibn) an-Nadīm say: "He was an Imãmī *mutakallim*, and he held sessions with Abū 'Alī al-Jubbã'ī (al-Mu'tazilī [235/849–303/916] leader of the Mu'tazilah in his time) on the Imãmate and its substantion." Because he was formely a Mu'tazilī, al-Ash'arī mentions him as one of those who were with Abu 'l-Qãsim al-Balkhī (*Maqãlãtu 'l-*

Islãmiyyīn, vol.2, p.44).

Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Ibrãhīm ibn Ismã'īl al-Ismã'īlī ash-Shãfi'ī al-Jurjãnī (277/890–371/981) said, when he gave the list of those he narrated from: "Abū 'Abdillãh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillãh ibn Mumlak, the *mutakallim*, was known as a Mu'tazilī, and we have heard that he turned away from Mu'talizilism on his death. Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillãh ibn Mumlak, the *mutakallim*, narrated to us in 'Askar Mukram . . ." (*al-Mu'jam*, vol.1, p.429 [#.88]). From this it can be understood that besides his residence in Iṣfahãn he spent some time in 'Askar Mukram, and it would have been here that he met Ibn Jabriyyah (see previous entry §11) and turned from Mu'tazilism to the Imãmī sect, and that Ibn Jabrūyah also encountered Abū 'Alī al-Jubbã'ī and debated with him. al-Qãḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbãr and al-Ḥãkim al-Jushamī mentioned that the *mutakallim*s gathered together in 'Askar [Mukram] before Ibn Hishãm, the governor; and amongst them was Abū 'Alī al-Jubbã'ī and Ibn Mumlak (*Faḍlu 'l-i'tizãl*, p.288). al-Jubbã'ī himself frequently went to 'Askar Mukram (*ibid*., pp.288, 289); indeed it is recorded concerning his death that it took place in 'Askar Mukram. "He instructed [his son] Abū Hãshim in his will that he should be buried in 'Askar Mukram and not removed thence, and when he died the people of 'Askar attended his funeral prayer. However, Abū Hãshim did not act according to the instructions of the will, and had his body taken to Jubbã'." ([Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.218 [footnote]; Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍã, *al-Munyah wa 'l-'amal*, p.174.)

It was perhaps as a result of this meeting with Ibn Mumlak that the following points are mentioned in Abū 'Alī al-Jubbã'ī's biography:

a) al-Qãḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbãr narrated from Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Farzawī that he said: "We have heard that Abū 'Alī was on the point of effecting a reconciliation between the Mu'tazilah and the Shī'ah in 'Askar [Mukram], and said: 'We agree on *tawḥīd* and *'adl*, and we only differ on the imãmate, so bring yourselves together to form a single power (*yadan wãḥidan*).' But Muḥammad ibn 'Umar aṣ-Ṣaymarī dissuaded him [from going further]." (*Faḍlu 'l-i'tizãl*, p.291)

b) al-Qãḍī reported from al-Farzawī that he said: "When he [Abū 'Alī] used to quote from the Prophet, peace be upon him [and his family], that he said concerning 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, and Fãṭimah, peace be upon them: 'I shall fight with whoever fights you, and I shall be at peace with whoever is at peace with you', he would say: 'The amazing thing here is that those who have no good grounds for their beliefs (*nawãbit*) who narrated this Tradition then say: "Mu'ãwiyah" (i.e. respect him).'" (*Faḍlu 'l-i'tizãl*, p.292; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.172)

c) Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍã reported from al-Farzawī that he said: "The Rãfiḍites,

because they did not know Abū ʻAlī and his beliefs, claimed that he was a Nãṣibī [an enemy of the Household of the Prophet, peace be upon them). How could that be when he refuted the book of ʻAbbãd [ibn Sulaymãn ibn ʻAlī Abū Sahl al-Baṣrī, al-Muʻtazilī, one of the companions of Hishãm ibn ʻAmr al-Fuwaṭī, and al-Jubbã'ī said he was astute in *kalãm*, although he was given to madness ([Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.215; *Faḍlu 'l-iʻtizãl*, p.285; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.169)] concerning the excellence of Abū Bakr, but he did not refute the book of al-Iskãfī called *al-Miʻyãr wa 'l-muwãzamah* concerning the excellence of ʻAlī over Abū Bakr." (*al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.173)

He wrote several books, including: *Kitãbu 'l-Imãmah* (Book on the Imãmate), *Kitãb naqḍu 'l-imãmah ʻalã Abū ʻAlī al-Jubbã'ī* (Book on the Refutation of Abū ʻAlī al-Jubbã'ī's Book on the Imãmate) – it was not finished, and *Majãlisuhu maʻa Abū ʻAlī al-Jubbã'ī* (His Discussions with Abū ʻAlī al-Jubbã'ī).

[an-Najãshī, pp.295-6; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.225; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.226; *Maʻãlimu 'l-ʻulamã'*, p.130; *Majmaʻu 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, p.249; vol.7, p.167; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.320-1; *Tawḍīḥu 'l-ishtibãh*, p.272; al-ʻAllãmah, pp.161, 188; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.318; *Jãmiʻu 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.144; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.146; *Muʻjam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, pp.275-6; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shīʻah*, p.376; *Ṭabaqãt aʻlãmi 'sh-Shīʻah*, 4th cent., pp.281-2; *adh-Dharīʻah*, vol.2, p.335; vol.19, p.366; vol.24, p.289.]

§110. Muḥammad ibn ʻAbdillãh aṭ-Ṭayyãr (*mawlã* of [the tribe of] Fazãrah – aṭ-Ṭūsī) **al-Kūfī:** He was one of the companions of the Imãms al-Bãqir (57/676–114/733) and aṣ-Ṣãdiq (83/702–148/765), peace be upon them both, and he died during the lifetime of aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon him. al-ʻAllãmah al-Ḥillī narrated that al-Imãm al-Bãqir, peace be upon him, was proud of him. al-Kishshī narrates from two correct chains of transmission from al-Imãm aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon him, that when he was informed of the death of aṭ-Ṭayyãr, he said: "May Allãh be merciful to him, and procure him radiance and gladness. He was fierce in our defence; he used to defend us, the *Ahlu 'l-Bayt*." al-Kishshī also narrated with a chain of transmission from aṭ-Ṭayyãr that he said: "I said to Abū ʻAbdillãh, peace be upon him: 'I have heard that you do not like debating with people, and that you do not like enmity [in matters of religion].' He said: 'But we do not disapprove of the dialectic (*kalãm*) of people like you. He who flies knows how to land, and if he lands he knows how to fly, so we do not disapprove of the debates of one who is like this.'"

[al-Kishshī, pp.348-9; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijãl*, pp.135, 292; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, p.241; vol.5, p.245; al-'Allãmah, p.150; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.119, 316; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, pp.281-2; vol.2, pp.133-4, 142; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.374-5; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.6, p.279; vol.16, pp.287-8]

§111. Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi 'l-Malik ibn Muḥammad, Abū 'Abdillãh at-Tabbãn (d. 419/1028): an-Najãshī says: "He was a Mu'tazilī at first, then he revealed his transition to Shī'ism." He wrote: *Kitãb fī taklīf man 'alima 'llãhu annahu yakfur* (Book on How Allãh Can Command Those Who He knows to be Unbelievers) and *Kitãb fi 'l-ma'dūm* (Book on the Non-existent). He was the questioner in ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã's *al-Masãilu 't-Tabbãniyyah*; (see §39).
[an-Najãshī, p.316; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, p.255; Ibn Dãwūd, p.322; al-'Allãmah, p.164; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.318; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.146; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, pp.147-8; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, p.293; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.4, p.408; vol.21, p.224; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.168; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.38; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.2, p.63; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.10, p.258.]

§112. Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn, Abū Ja'far ibn Qibah ar-Rãzī (d. *c.*315/927): Shayku 'ṭ-Ṭãifah says: "He was an Imãmī *mutakallim*, and was skillful in it; first he had been a Mu'tazilī, then he changed to the idea of the Imãmate, and his way and his thinking became good." an-Najãshī says: "He was a *mutakallim*, he held a high rank, he was strong in *kalãm*. Formerly he had been among the Mu'tazilah, but he was enlightened and changed (his view), he wrote books on *kalãm*, and he learnt *ḥadīth*." Ibn Shahrãshūb says: "He was a powerful *mutakallim*"; and (Ibn) an-Nadīm says: "He was a Shī'ī *mutakllim* and skillful at it."

an-Najãshī says: "In the session of ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Mūsã – and our Shaykh Abū 'Abdillãh, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn an-Nu'mãn (al-Mufīd, [see §144]) was there, may Allãh have mercy on them all – I heard Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ibn al-Mahlūs al-'Alawī al-Mūsawī say: 'I heard Abu 'l-Ḥusayn as-Sūsanjirdī (see §125) – and he was one of our outstanding co-sectarians, a pious *mutakallim*, who wrote a well known book on the Imãmate, . . . say: "I went to Abu 'l-Qãsim al-Balkhī ('Abdullãh ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd al-Ka'bī al-Ḥanafī al-Mu'tazilī [273/886–319/931], one of the leaders of the Mu'tazilah, who resided in Baghdad for a long time and then returned to Balkh and died there. as-Sayyid aṣ-Ṣadr mentions that Ibn Qibah was his pupil) in Balkh

after I had made a pilgrimage to ar-Riḍã, peace be upon him, in Ṭūs. I greeted him and he knew me from before and with me was the book of Abū Ja‘far ibn Qibah on the Imãmate, famous as *al-Inṣãf* (The Just Treatment). He read it and he refuted it in *al-Mustarshid fi 'l-imãmah* (The Guided One in [the Matter of] the Imãmate). Then I went to Ray and handed over the book to Ibn Qibah, and he refuted it in *al-Mustathbit fi 'l-imãmah* (The Completely Sure One in [the Matter of] the Imãmate). I carried this to Abu 'l-Qãsim and he refuted it in *Naqḍu 'l-mustathbit* (Refutation of the Completely Sure One). Then I went to Ray and found that Abū Ja‘far had died."'"

Amongst his books which are mentioned, in addition to those given above, are:-

1. *ar-Radd ‘ala 'z-Zaydiyyah* (Refutation of the Zaydīs);
2. *ar-Radd ‘alã Abū ‘Alī al-Jubbã’ī* (Refutation of Abū ‘Alī al-Jubbã’ī [the Mu‘tazilī]), and others.

ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq also mentioned another two books of his:-

1. *Naqḍ kitãbi 'l-ghaybah* (Refutation of the Book on Occultation) by Abu 'l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Bashshãr, the Zaydī; and
2. *Naqḍ kitãbi 'l-Irshãd* (Refutation of the Book *al-Irshãd*) (on the Imãmate) by Abū Zayd al-‘Alawī, the Zaydī, who quoted them in *Kamãlu 'd-dīn*, vol.1, pp.51-60, 94-126.

[an-Najãshī, pp.290-1; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.158; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.225; *Ma‘ãlimu 'l-‘ulamã’*, p.85; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, pp.253-4; vol.6, pp.25-26; Ibn Dãwūd, p.321; al-‘Allãmah, pp.143-4; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.314, *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, pp.138, 139; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.278; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.138; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.1, pp.382-3; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, pp.243-5; *Ta’sīsu 'sh-Shī‘ah*, p.378; *Ṭabaqãt a‘lãmi 'sh-Shī‘ah*, 4th cent., pp.102-3; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.2, pp.335, 396; vol.10, pp.180-1, 200; vol.21, pp.1-2; *Hadiyyatu 'l-‘ãrifīn*, vol.2, p.106; *Mu‘jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.10, pp.148-9; ash-Shahrastãnī, vol.1, p.190.]

§113. Muḥammad ibn Abī ‘Imrãn (Mūsã) ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abdūyah, Abu 'l-Faraj al-Kãtib al-Qazwīnī (d. *c.*400/1010): an-Najãshī (372/982–450/1058) says: "(He was) trustworthy, true in narration (of *ḥadīth*), and clearly of (our) way (beliefs). I have seen this *shaykh*, but I was not able to hear any (*ḥadīth*) from him. Among his books was *ar-Radd ‘ala* (Refutation of) *'l-Ismã‘īliyyah*."

[an-Najãshī, p.310; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, p.117; Ibn Dãwūd, p.289; al-‘Allãmah, p.164; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.284; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.50; *Amalu*

'l-ãmil, vol.2, p.234; *Ḍiyãfatu 'l-ikhwãn*, p.321; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.71; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.14, pp.294-5; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.308-9; 5th cent., pp.187-8; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.184.]

§114. Muḥammad ibn (Abi) 'l-Qãsim, Abū Bakr al-Baghdãdī: an-Najãshī says: "He was a *mutakallim*, a contemporary of Ibn Hammãm (Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr Hammãm ibn Suhayl al-Kãtib al-Iskãfī [258/872–336/948]). He wrote a book in *kalãm* on the Occultation (of the twelth Imãm)." [an-Najãshī, p.296; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, p.123; Ibn Dãwūd, p.331; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.282; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.45; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.64; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.14, p.312; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.16, p.80; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.380.]

§115. Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Umayr (Ziyãd) ibn 'Īsã, Abū Muḥammad al-Azdī al-Baghdãdī (d. 217/832): One of the most distinguished companions of the Imãms ar-Riḍã and al-Jawãd, peace be upon them both: "He was of a distinguished rank, and a high degree. He was one of the most reliable of men and was the most pious and devout and the most given to worship among them." Some people calumniated him before Hãrūn ar-Rashīd (149/766 – caliphate 170/786–193/809) saying that he knew the names of the Shī'ah in Iraq, and he ordered him to name them, and to point out the companions of al-Imãm Mūsã ibn Ja'far, peace be upon them, but he refused, and was stripped and flogged a hundred times. Then he was imprisoned, but he bought his freedom for 121,000 dirhams, for he was a wealthy man. Then he was imprisoned again in the reign of al-Ma'mūn (170/786 – caliphate 198/813–218/833) after the death of al-Imãm ar-Riḍã, peace be upon him, (203/818) and he was subjected to suffering, confine-ment and a great deal of beating, and everything he possessed was taken from him.

Ibn Abī 'Umayr was one of the most distinguished Imãmiyyah scholars, jurists and *mutakallim*s of his time. He was one of the six companions of the Imãms al-Kãẓim and ar-Riḍã, peace be upon them both, about whom there is a general agreement concerning their trustworthiness, and in accepting them in *fiqh* and other kinds of knowledge (see the biography of Yūnus [§165]). It is mentioned that he was the author of ninety-four books, among which were:-

1. *at-Tawḥīd* (Divine Unity);
2. *ar-Radd 'alã ahlu 'l-qadar* (A Refutation of Those who do not Believe in Predetermination);
3. *al-Istiṭã'ah wa 'l-afã'il wa 'r-radd alã ahli 'l-qadar wa 'l-jadbr* (The Ability to Act and Actions, and a Refutation of Those who do not

Believe in Predetermination and Those who Believe in Predestination);
4. *al-Kufr wa 'l-'īmãn* (Unbelief and Belief);
5. *al-Bidã'* (God's Annuling and Establishing What He Wills); and
6. *al-Ma'ãrif* (Research into the Means of Obtaining Knowledge of Divine Realities).

[al-Kishshī, pp.589-92; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.168-9; *ar-Rijãl*, p.388; an-Najãshī, pp.250-1; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.91; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, pp.117-22; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.287-9; al-'Allãmah, pp.140-1; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.284-5; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, pp.50-51; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.2, pp.61-64; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.14, pp.291-4; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.26; vol.3, p.56; vol.4, p.481; vol.10, p.187; vol.18, p.103; vol.21, p.187.]

§116. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abdillãh ibn Quḍã'ah ibn Ṣafwãn ibn Mihrãn, Abū 'Abdillãh aṣ-Ṣafwãnī al-Quḍã'ī al-Baghdãdī (fl. 352/963): Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah says: "He memorized many things, had much knowledge and was faultless in language." an-Najãshī says: "(He was) a *shaykh* of our sect, trustworthy, a *faqīh*, and well-educated. He held a high position before the king (of al-Mawṣil) and the reason for this was that he argued with the judge of al-Mawṣil about the Imãmate in front of Ibn Ḥamdãn (Naṣīru 'd-Dawlah al-Ḥasan ibn Abi 'l-Hayjã' 'Abdullãh ibn Ḥamdãn at-Taghlibī al-Ḥamdãnī [d. 358/969], the elder brother of Sayfu 'd-Dawlah, and the king of al-Mawṣil). He defeated him, and then cursed him." And the judge fell victim to his curse.

He wrote several books, among which are:-
1. *ar-Radd 'alã* (Refutation of) *Ibn Rabãḥ al-Mamṭūr*. (Ãghã Buzurg mentions that this was Abū 'Imrãn, Mūsã ibn Rabãḥ, the Mu'tazilī [d. *c.*400/1010], a pupil of Abū 'Alī al-Jubbã'ī and Ibn al-Ikhshīdh – *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.178);
2. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Wãqifah*;
3. *ar-Radd 'alã ahli 'l-ahwã'* (Refutation of the Heretics).

It is difficult to accept this explanation of Ãghã Buzurg, for it would seem that this is Ibn Rabãḥ, the Wãqifī. One piece of evidence for this is his *laqab* al-Mamṭūr, which was used exclusively by the Imãmiyyah for the Wãqifah; it comes from the expression *kalb mamṭūr*, meaning a dog wetted by the rain and hence a source of impurity and to be avoided. (al-Kishshī, pp.460, 461 [#s.875, 878, 879]; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.48, p.267; see also books of sects, etc.). an-Najãshī, said: "'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Umar ibn Rabãḥ . . . was trustworthy in the narration of *ḥadīth*, of the Wãqifī sect, and

his narrations are reliable; he wrote several books, among them *al-Ghaybah* . . ." (an-Najãshī, pp.259-60 [679]; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, pp.221-2.) It would appear that aṣ-Ṣafwãnī's refutation was of this book, because the *ghaybah* referred to in its title is the disappearance of the seventh Imãm, al-Kãẓim, peace be upon him, which was the basis of the Wãqifah's stopping the line of the Imãmate with al-Kãẓim, peace be upon him, (see especially aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Ghaybah*, ch. "*al-Kalãm 'ala 'l-Wãqifah*", pp.43-76).

4. *al-Imãmah* (The Imãmate);
5. *al-Ghaybah wa kashfu 'l-ḥayrah* (The Ocultation and the Clarification of Confusion);
6. *ar-Rad'ah wa 'n-nahy 'an kulli bid'ah* (The Prevention and Denial of All Innovations).

[an-Najãshī, pp.306-7; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.159; *ar-Rijãl*, pp.502-3; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, pp.136-7; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.247; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.293-4; al-'Allãmah, p.144; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.288; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, pp.91-92; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.2, pp.11-13; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.15, pp.11-13; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.6, pp.121-3; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.2, pp.419-21; *al-Fawãidu 'r-Raḍawiyyah*, pp.388-9; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.238-9; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.33; vol.10, pp.177-8, 186, 235, 238; vol.16, p.84; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.2, p.42, where it mentions: "He died in Baghdad in 346/957"; *Īḍãḥu 'l-maknūn*, vol.1, p.133; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.8, p.282.]

§117. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Junayd, Abū 'Alī ibn al-Junayd al-Kãtib al-Iskãfī al-Baghdãdī (d. 381/991): He originated from "al-Iskãf", an inhabited place in the district of an-Nahrawãn, between Baghdad and Wãsiṭ of which it is said "Iskãf of Banū (Children of) al-Junayd"; as Yãqūt and others say, they were the heads of this region, were famous for their hospitality and nobility, and this place became known by their name (*Mu'jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.1, p.181; *Marãṣidu 'l-iṭṭilã'*, vol.1, p.75; *Tãju 'l-'arūs*, vol.6, p.142; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p.59). This Ibn Junayd was one of them (*Rijãl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.3, p.223). Ibn Junayd died in Rayy.

an-Najãshī says: "He was prominent among our co-religionists, trust-worthy to a high degree, and he composed a great many writings." ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He was outstanding in writing, and he had an excellent style. However, he believed in the doctrine of analogical reasoning (*qiyãs*), and his writings on this subject have been abandoned (by us), and he is unreliable because of this." (Ibn) an-Nadīm says: "One of the greatest

Imãmite Shīʻahs"; and as-Sayyid Baḥru 'l-ʻUlūm says: "One of the prominent persons of the sect, and one of the most learned of the Imãmiyyah predecessors . . . a *mutakallim*, *faqīh*, a narrator of *aḥãdīth*, a man of letters, extensively knowledgeable, an author in *fiqh*, *kalãm*, *uṣūl* (the Principles of jurisprudence), literary works, etc." Among his books relevant to the discussions of *kalãm* were:-

1. *Tanbīhu 's-sãhī bi 'l-ʻilmi 'l-ilãhi* (Warning to the Inattentive Concerning Divine Knowledge);
2. *al-Asfãr fi 'r-radd ala 'l-murtaddah (ʻala 'l-mu'badah)*. (The Journeys to Refute Apostates [or the chiefs of the Zoroastrians]);
3. *Naqḍ naqḍi 'z-Zujãjiyy an-Naysãbūrī ala 'l-Faḍl ibn Shãdhãn* (The Disproving of az-Zujãjī an-Naysãbūrī's Disproof of al-Faḍl ibn Shãdhãn).

In *al-Ansãb*, vol.2, pp.272-5 and in *Tãju 'l-ʻarūs*, vol.2, p.53 one Zajjãjī and many Zujãjī's are mentioned, but none of them are Naysãbūrī but in *Mukhtaṣar tãrīkh Naysãbūr* (p.21) we find al-Ḥasan ibn Ṣãliḥ ibn Muḥammad, Abū ʻAlī az-Zujjãjī an-Naysãbūrī, who is perhaps this person. (For Ibn Shãdhãn, see § 57.)

4. *ash-Shuhbu 'l-muḥriqah li 'l-abãlīs al-mustariqah* (The Burning Shooting Stars for the Devil Listeners by Stealth), in which he refutes Abu 'l-Qãsim al-Baqqãl al-Mutawassiṭ ʻAbdu 'l-ʻAzīz ibn Isḥãq ibn Jaʻfar, Abu 'l-Qãsim (ibn) al-Baqqãl al-Kūfī al-Baghdãdī (272/885–363/974) was a Zaydī *mutakallim* who wrote many books about the Zaydī sect. In *adh-Dharīʻah*, vol.14, p.259, Abu 'n-Naʻãl is mentioned, and this must be a mistake.
5. *Khalãsu 'l-mubtadi'īn min ḥayrati mujãdilīn* (The Deliverance of Beginners from the Confusion of Disputants).
6. *Nūru 'l-yaqīn wa baṣīratu 'l-ʻãrifīn* (The Light of Certainty and the Insight of Those Who Know).
7. *Īḍãḥu khaṭai man shannaʻa ʻala 'sh-Shīʻah fī amri 'l-Qur'ãn* (Clarification of the Errors for Those Who Defame the Shīʻah Concerning the Matter of the Qur'ãn).
8. *Kashfu 't-tamwīh wa 'l-ilbãs ʻalã aghmãri 'sh-Shīʻah fī amri 'l-qiyãs* (The Unveiling of the Distortion and Deception of the Gullible Among the Shīʻah Concerning the Matter of Analogical Reasoning [*qiyãs*]).
9. *Jawãbãt Sabuktikīn* (Answers to Sebüktigin [*c.*331/942–387/997, founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty, the Karrãmite and Ḥanafite]).
10. *Jawãbãt Muʻizzi 'd-Dawlah* (Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Buwayh ad-Daylamī [303/915 – took Baghdad in 334/946– d. 356/967]).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.160; *ar-Rijãl*, p.511; an-Najãshī, pp.299-302; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, pp.87-88; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.246; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, pp.127-31; Ibn Dãwūd, p.292; al-'Allãmah, p.145; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.286-7; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.50; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.2, pp.67-69; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.14, pp.337-43; *Rijãl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.3, pp.205025; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.236-8; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.6, pp.145-52; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.2, pp.26-27; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, pp.302-3; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.235; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, pp.59, 494; vol.4, p.443; vol.5, pp.205, 212; vol.7, p.208; vol.14, p.259; vol.18, p.24; vol.24, p.291; *al-A'lãm*, vol.6, p.203; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.8, p.248.]

§118. Muḥammad ibn 'Alī (brother of Abū Sahl)**, Abū Ja'far an-Nawbakhtī:** His name is only quoted incidentally, and he is mentioned by (Ibn) an-Nadīm in the biography of Abū Sahl where he says: "He was one of the *mutakallim*s of his sect, and he wrote several books . . .", but the printed text omits the names of his books (*al-Fihrist*, p.225). ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī mentions him in *ḥadīth* narrated from him (*al-Ghaybah*, p.257; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.51, p.363). Ibn ar-Rūmī, the famous poet (221/836–283/896) mentions him in a number of his *qaṣīda*s (*Dīwãn*, vol.1, pp.153, 159; vol.3, p.1080). (His biography appears with some of the points we have mentioned before in *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.367; *Khãndãn-e Nawbakhtī*, p.124; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.284.)

§119. Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abdak (Abdu 'l-Karīm), Abū Muḥammad (Abū Aḥmad) ibn 'Abdak al-'Abdakī al-Jurjãnī (d. a.d. 360/971): Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "One of the great *mutakallim*s among the Imãmiyyah; he has many writings to his name, and he was a believer in *wa'īd* (see §17). "an-Najãshī says: "He holds an honourable position among the scholars of our sect; he was a jurist and a *mutakallim*." as-Sam'ãnī says: "He was the guardian (*muqaddam*) over the Shī'ah and the leader of the people of the Shī'ah in Jurjãn. al-Ḥãkim ibn Bayyi' (the famous Sunnī scholar) narrated from him, and said: 'He was one of those educated men characterized by intelligence and maturity, and excellent in his beliefs. He took up residence in Naysãbūr.'" The Mu'tazilites mention him in their *ṭabaqãt* (chronological biographies), and say that he was a student of Abū Hãshim al-Jubbã'ī (247/861–321/933) in Baghdad, and Abu 'l-Qãsim al-Ka'bī al-Balkhī (273/886–319/931) in Balkh, and followed their beliefs. Then he changed his beliefs to those of the Imãmīs. The Mu'tazilites say that al-Balkhī said of him: "I have never seen anyone who knew the intricacies

and fundamentals of *kalãm* better than him." (*Faḍlu 'l-i'tizãl*, p.331; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.193.) If Ibn 'Abdak had not been Imãmī to begin with, the Imãmī biographers would have mentioned this, so I suppose that he concealed his true beliefs before his two Mu'tazilī teachers.

He wrote many books, but his biographers have only mentioned the following:-

1. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Ismã'īliyyah*;
2. *al-Kalãm 'ala 'l-fiqati 'l-muthbitah li ru'yati 'llãh ta'alã* (Against Those Sects who Assert that, the Sublime, Can be Seen);
3. *Muṭãli'u 'l-hidãyah* (The Place of the Rising of Guidance).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.225; an-Najãshī, p.297; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, pp.130-1; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, p.275; vol.7, p.164; Ibn Dãwūd, p.325; al-'Allãmah, p.188; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.323, 404; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, pp.155, 434; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.158; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, pp.374-5; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.290; *adh-Dharī'ah,* vol.10, p.183; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.46, pp.62-64; *al-Ansãb*, vol.8, p.242; vol.9, p.185; *al-Lubãb*, vol.2, p.312; *Tãrīkh Jurjãn*, p.519; *Talkhīṣ tãrīkh Naysãbūr li 'l-ḥãkim*, p.108; *Tãju 'l-'arūs*, vol.2, p.414; *Tabṣīru 'l-muntabih*, vol.3, p.986.]

§120. Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū Ja'far ibn Bãbawayh al-Qummī ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq (*c.*306/919–381/991): ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī, an-Najãshī and al-'Allãmah say: "He was of exalted rank, knowledgeable in *fiqh*, a memorizer of traditions, a critical appraiser of the narrators of *ḥadīth*; he had no peer among the scholars of Qum as far as his memory and the extent of his knowledge was concerned. He was our *shaykh*, our *faqīh*, the eminent one of (our) sect . . ." al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdãdī ash-Shãfi'ī says: "He was one of the Shī'ī *shaykh*s and one of the famous Rãfiḍites." (*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.3, p.89.)

He wrote a great deal, and the number of his writings reached three hundered books and shorter works, but only a few have come down to us. Our Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq was, as as-Sayyid Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm says: "the chief of the transmitters of *ḥadīth* (*raisu 'l-muḥaddithīn*)" and he was a model for the development of dogmatics (*al-ittijãh al-i'tiqãdī*) which the scholars of Imãmī *ḥadīth* followed, although it differed from the developments brought about by ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd and those who followed his method on a number of points. Among his writings which have come down to us on the subject of beliefs are:-

1. *at-Tawḥīd*, which counts as one of the most famous Imãmite writings

on the subject. It has been printed several times, and it has been commented on frequently (*adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.14, pp.153-4). He says at the beginning of the book: "That which called me to write this book of mine was that I had found a group among those who were opposed to us attributing belief in God's having human characteristics (*tashbīh*) and in predeterminism (*jabr*) to some of our sect, since they had found in their books some traditions of whose interpretation they were ignorant and whose meaning they did not know. They put them in the wrong context, and did not collate them with the words of the Qur'ãn (i.e., the same expressions occurred in the Qur'ãn); thus they disfigured the form of our religious beliefs (*madhhab*) in this way in the eyes of the ignorant, and made our way confusing to them; they turned people away from the religion of Allãh, and caused them to reject the proofs of Allãh. So, I sought to gain favour with Allãh, may remembrance of Him be made exalted, by the writing of this book on *tawḥīd*, denying *tashbīh* and predeterminism," (*at-Tawḥīd*, pp.17-18). Now, the book, and the fact that he relies, in its various parts and investigations, on *ḥadīth* (just as in the case of the book of *Tawḥīd* [Divine Unity] in *al-Kãfī*, except that ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq critically assessed many of the *aḥãdīth* in his commentaries and explanatory remarks) show that he was a skillful *mutakallim*, strong in his proving, precise in his observation and penetrating in his astuteness. (For his investigative methods see particularly: *at-Tawḥīd*, Tehran, 1387 AH, pp.27, 65-66, 87-88, 119-22, 129, 137, 148, 155-9, 195-218, 225-6, 269, 290-1, 298-304, 317-8, 335-6, 378-9, 384-8, 395-7.)

2. *I'tiqãdãtu 'l-Imãmiyyah* (The Beliefs of the Imãmiyyah). This book lays down the beliefs of the Imãmiyyah chapter by chapter. It is one of the most important of the books which portrays what they believe in, although the community of scholars have argued over some of the details which ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq mentioned as being Imãmiyyah beliefs, or which he said it was necessary to believe in, where he has relied on *aḥãdīth* which were not sound in the view of these scholars, or where the interpretation which ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq gave to them was not deemed sound by them. It has been printed several times, and it has many commentaries, of which Ãqã Buzurg has mentioned eight (*adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.13, pp.100-2). One of the most famous of these is that which ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd appended to the book and called *Taṣḥīḥu 'l-i'tiqãdãti 'l-Imãmiyyah* (Eng. transl.: *The Emendation of A Shī'ite Creed*).

I'tiqãdãtu 'l-Imãmiyyah has been translated into English (by A.A.A. Fyzee, London, 1944) under the Title *A Shī'ite Creed*, and I have written an introduction to the second printing of this translation which our institute

(WOFIS) has published. I have also commented on some of the aspects, which refer directly to the writer and the book itself.

At the beginning of this book ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq says:

Chapter on the Nature of the Imãmiyyah Doctrine Concerning *Tawḥīd*:

Know that our doctrine concerning *tawḥīd* is that Allãh, the Exalted, is One (*wãḥid*). Absolutely Unique (*aḥad*), there is nothing like Him, (He is) infinitely Pre-existent (*qadīm*), He has never ceased, nor will He cease, to exist, to be All-hearing (*samī'*), All-seeing (*baṣīr*), Omniscient (*'alīm*), Wise (*ḥakīm*), Living (*ḥayy*), All-sustaining (*qayyūm*), Mighty (*'azīz*), Holy (*quddūs*), Knowing (*'ãlim*), Omnipotent (*qãdir*), Self-sufficient (*ghaniyy*), indescribable in terms of essence (*jawhar*), without body (*jism*), without form (*ṣūrah*), without accident (*'araḍ*), without length (*khaṭṭ*), without breadth (*'arḍ*), without surface (*saṭḥ*), without weight (*thiqal*), without lightness (*khiffah*), not resting (*sukūn*), not moving (*ḥarakah*), without place (*makãn*), without time (*zamãn*), and He, the Exalted, is above all qualities of his creatures outside the two limits, the limit of nullification (*ḥaddu 'l-ibṭãl*) and the limit of anthropomorphism (*ḥaddu 't-tashbīh*); He, the Exalted, is a thing unlike anything (*shay-un lã ka 'l-ashã'*); Unique, the Everlasting Refuge (*ṣamad*); "He has not begotten", and thus He has no heir, "He was not begotten", and thus He shares with no-one, and "there is not any one equal unto Him"; He has no peer (*nidd*), and no adversary (*ḍidd*), no likeness (*shibh*), no woman consort (*ṣãḥibah*), no similar (*mithl*), no match (*naẓīr*); He has no partner (*sharīk*); observation cannot perceive Him, but He perceives the observation, neither can imagination, but He perceives it; neither slumber nor sleep overtakes Him; He is the All-subtle (*laṭīf*), the Cognizant (*khabīr*), the Creator (*khãliq*) of every thing; there is no diety (*ilãh*) except He; to Him [alone] belongs [the power of] Creation (*khalq*) and Command (*amr*); Blessed (*tabãraka*) is Allãh, the Lord of the Worlds.

Whoever speaks of anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*) creates partners for God (*mushrik*), and whoever attributes to the Imãmiyyah something other than what has been described (above) concerning *tawḥīd* is a liar; every tradition which contradicts what I have mentioned concerning *tawḥīd* is a fabrication (*mawḍū'*) and an invention (*mukhtara'*), and every *ḥadīth* which does not conform to the Book of Allãh is invalid (*bãṭil*), and if it is found in the books of our scholars it has been forged, and traditions which the ignorant imagine to attribute human qualities to Allãh, the Exalted, can have their meanings understood according to the significance of similar passages in the Qur'ãn.

ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd agrees with this and does not dispute it.

Our Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq made similar statements in learned sessions, which were convened, for him in Naysãbūr in the year 368/979, and to which the *shaykh*s of the Shī'ah came as well as the common Shī'ī people, and where they asked him if he would describe briefly for them the peculiarities of the religion of the Imãmiyyah. (ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq, *al-Amãlī* [*al-Majãlis*], session no.93, pp.639-54; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.10, pp.393-405.)

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.184-6; *ar-Rijãl*, p.495; an-Najãshī, pp.302-6; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.100; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, pp.269-73; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.324-5; al-'Allãmah, p.147; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.322-3; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.154; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, pp.154-5; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, pp.524-6, 547-718; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.6, pp.132-56; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.283; *Rijãl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.3, pp.292-301; etc. (many more)].

§121. Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn an-Nu'mãn, Abū Ja'far al-Bajalī al-Aḥwal al-Kūfī, Mu'minu 'ṭ-Ṭãq (*c.*90/709–*c.*160/777): He met Imãm Muḥammad al-Bãqir and narrated from Imãm Ja'far aṣ-Ṣãdiq (peace be upon both). He was one of the best-known Imãmī *mutakallim*s, about whom it was said that he was "reliable in his *kalãm* and his narration of *ḥadīth*, ready to give answer." an-Najãshī said: "As for his status in knowledge and quick-wittedness, he is too well-known [to need description], although things have been attributed to him which are not confirmed as far as we are concerned." He wrote:-

1. *Kitãbu 'l-Ma'rifah* (Book of Knowledge);
2. *Kitãbu 'l-Iḥtijãj fī imãmat Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'alayhi 's-salãm* The Proving of the Imãmate of Amīr al-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him);
3. *Kitãbu 'r-Radd 'ala 'l-Mu'tazilah fī imãmat al-mafḍūl* (Refutation of the Mu'tazilah Concerning the Imãmate of the Less Excellent);
4. *Kitãbu 'l-Jamal fī amr Ṭalḥah wa Zubayr wa 'Ãishah* (Book of the [Battle of the] Camel Concerning the Affair of Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and 'Ãishah);
5. *Kitãb kalãmi-hi 'ala 'l-Khawãrij* (Book of his Debates Concerning the Khãrijis);
6. *Kitãb majãlisi-hi ma'a Abū Ḥanīfah wa 'l-Murji'ah* (His Debating Sesions with Abū Ḥanīfah and the Murji'ites), he was well known for the many debates which he held with Abū Ḥanīfah;
7. *Kitãb if'al lã taf'al* (Book on What Should be Done and What Should not be Done); about which an-Najãshī said it was "a large, fine work".

[al-Kishshī, p.135 [= 215], pp.185-91 [= 324-34], p.240 [= 438]; [Ibn] an-

Nadīm, p.224; an-Najãshī, pp.325-6 [= 886]; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.157-8; *ar-Rijãl*, p.302, 359; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'* pp.84-85; Abū Dãwūd, pp.326-7, 394; al-'Allãmah, p.138; *Majma'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.6, pp.2-8; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, pp.158-9; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, pp.36-46; *al-Wãfi bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.4, p.104; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.5, p.300-1; *al-A'lãm*, vol.7, p.154.]

§122. Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Uthmãn ibn 'Alī, al-Qãḍī Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Karãjikī (*c.*369/950–449/1057): His Imãmī biographers say: "A trustworthy man of knowledge, an erudite *mutakallim*, of an exalted position, one of the greatest scholars, *faqīh*s and *mutakallim*s." ash-Shahīd al-Awwal describes him with the words: "The religious authority, the very learned scholar, the support of the religion." Non-Imãmīs, such as adh-Dhahabī, Ibn 'Abdi 'l-Ḥayy, Ibn Ḥajar and others, say of him: "He was a *faqīh*, a *mutakallim*, a grammarian, a philologist, a physician, an astrologer, a calculator of inheritance, a very versatile scholar." aṣ-Ṣafadī says: "He was one of the luminaries of the Rãfiḍites, an expert in their *fiqh*." al-Karãjik, which means tents, that was why he was sometimes called "al-Khiyamī", as it means the same. He migrated from Ramlah to Iraq in 411/1020 (*Kanzu 'l-fawãid*, p.267), was a pupil of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã and Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī. He returned to Ramlah and Cairo, where he was in 426/1035 and he stayed for a considerable time in Egypt. He also visited Ḥalab (Aleppo) and Damascus, and made an extended visit to Ṭarãbulus (Tripoli – in Lebanon), where he stayed for a considerable time, and wrote many of his books. He wrote a great deal on *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *kalãm*, *uṣūlu 'l-fiqh*, literature and other subjects. One of his pupils compiled an index of his works in which more than seventy-four books are mentioned. Among them are:-

1. *Kanzu 'l-fawãid* (The Treasury of Beneficial Things), which has been printed. It is like an encyclopaedia, encompassing many systematic investigations of scientific topics, and contains many smaller *kalãm* treatises.
2. *Sharḥ jumal al-'ilm wa 'l-'amal*, a commentary on the work of his teacher ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã (see §39/bk.4).
3. *Naqḍ risãlah Fardãn-ba'd al-Marwazī fi 'l-jazã'* (Disproof of the Treatises of Fardãn-ba'd al-Marwazī on the Divine Recompense).
4. *Ghãyatu 'l-inṣãf fī masãili 'l-khilãf* (The Goal of Justice Concerning the Matters of Disagreement), which contains the refutation of Abu 'ṣ-Ṣalãḥ al-Ḥalabī (see §158) in those matters in which he disagreed with ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã. al-Karãjikī supports the opinion of al-Murtaḍã in the places where there was a difference between him and al-Ḥalabī.

5. *Dãmighatu 'n-Naṣãrã* (The Refutation of the Christians) in which he refuted the words of Abū Hãshim an-Naṣrãnī concerning how he wished to reconcile the Trinity with Monotheism.
6. *al-Ghãyah fi 'l-uṣūl* (that is *uṣūlu 'd-dīn*), containing discussions on the coming into being of the universe, and the proof of its Creator.
7. *Jawãb risãlati 'l-akhawayn* (Replies to the Treatises of the Two Brothers [?]), containing a refutation of the Ash'arites and an undermining of their opinions about the Shī'ah.
8. *at-Tanbīh 'alã aghlãṭ Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī* (The Notification of the Errors of Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, the Mu'tazilī [d. 436/1044]), in a chapter in which he wrote about the Imãmate.

[ash-Shaykh Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist*: *al-Biḥãr*, vol.1, pp.18, 35; vol.105, pp.263-5; vol.107, pp.72, 160, 198-9; vol.109, pp.29, 30; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.156; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, pp. 105-6; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.287-8; *Lu'luatu 'l-baḥrayn*, pp.337-8; *Rijãl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.3, pp.302-8; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, pp.497-500; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.6, pp.209-15; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.159; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, pp.376-7; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, pp.386-91; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.46, p.160; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.3, pp.108-9; *al-Fawãidu 'r-Raḍawiyyah*, pp.571-4; *Marãqidu 'l-ma'ãrif*, vol.2, pp.211-2; *al-'Ibar*, vol.3, p.220; *al-Wãfī bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.4, p.130; *Mir'ãtu 'l-jinãn*, vol.3, p.70; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.5, p.300; *Shadharãtu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.283; *Tãju 'l-'arūs*, vol.7, p.172; *Īḍãḥu 'l-maknūn*, vol.1, pp.8, 70, 102, 178, 205, 342, 595; vol.2, pp.515; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.2, p.70; *al-A'lãm*, vol.7, p.162; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.11, p.27.]

§123. Muḥammad ibn 'Amr ibn 'Abdillãh ibn 'Umar ibn Muṣ'ab ibn az-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwãm: an-Najãshī says: "He was a skilled *mutakallim* from among our co-sectarians; he has a great book on the Imãmate which is known as the book of *aṣ-Ṣūrah*."

[an-Najãshī, p.261; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, p.14; Ibn Dãwūd, p.328; al-'Allãmah, p.154; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.325; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.163; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.164; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, p.89; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.15, p.97.]

§124. Muḥammad ibn Baḥr, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ash-Shaybãnī ar-Ruhnī as-Sijistãnī (d. before 330/941): He lived in Narmãshīr, in the region of Kirmãn, and "ar-Ruhnī" refers to Ruhnah, a place near Kirmãn. Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He was a *mutakallim*, and he was a knowledgeable man in *ḥadīth*, a *faqīh*, and he was the author of something like five

hundred literary works and tracts. His books are still to be found, most of them in Khurãsãn." an-Najãshī mentions him and narrates that others accused him of exaggeration in belief (*ghuluww*), and al-Kishshī (d. *c.*340/951) says of him: "He was a resentful (*ḥaniq*) exaggerator" (al-Kishshī, p.147; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.3, p.38; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.443; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.7, p.242.). al-'Allãmah al-Mãmaqãnī defended him, especially from the accusation of exaggeration. Yãqūt al-Ḥamawī mentioned him and spoke well of him, and narrated matters concerning him in various places in his book *Mu'jamu 'l-buldãn*.

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.158; *ar-Rijãl*, p.510; an-Najãshī, p.298; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.104; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, pp.162-3; Ibn Dãwūd, p.500; al-'Allãmah, p.252; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.294-5; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.79; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.2, pp.85-86; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, pp.136-8; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.248-9; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabã'*, vol.6, pp.417-8; *Mu'jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.3, p.108; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.5, p.89.]

§125. Muḥammad ibn Bishr, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn as-Sūsanjirdī al-Ḥamdūnī: Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah counts him among the students (*ghulãm*) of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī (see §96), and so does (Ibn) an-Nadīm, and he mentions him as a Shī'ī *mutakallim*. an-Najãshī mentions: "He was a *mutakallim*, outstanding in *kalãm*, correct in his beliefs, but he was a believer in *wa'īd* (see §17)." As mentioned in §112, an-Najãshī says: "He was one of our outstanding co-sectarians, and a pious *mutakallim*." He also mentions that he had written some books on the Imãmate.

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.158; an-Najãshī, p.296; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.226; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, p.164; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.85; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.299-300; al-'Allãmah, pp.161-2; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.295; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.80; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.87; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.15, p.141; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.249; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.5, p.93; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.379.]

§126. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī (385/995–460/1067): A legist (*faqīh*), jurisprudent (*uṣūlī*), *mutakallim*, commentator (of the Qur'ãn), man of letters and narrator of *ḥadīth*: "a pre-eminent Shī'ī counted as trustworthy and of an exalted rank", according to his friend and associate an-Najãshī (p.316); "Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah (Leader of the [Shī'ī] Sect) and pillar of their (community)", according to Ibn Dãwūd (p.306); "The Legist of the Imãmī Shī'ah, their *mutakallim* and author" according to as-Subkī (*Ṭabaqãtu 'sh-Shãfi'iyyah*, vol.4, p.126; *al-*

Muntaẓim, vol.8, p.252; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.10, p.58; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.97; *an-Nujūmu 'z-zãhirah*, vol.5, p.82). al-‘Allãmah al-Ḥillī (648/1250–726/1325), the most illustrious figure in Shī‘ī sciences after the era of al-Mufīd and aṭ-Ṭūsī, said: "He was the chief of the Imãmiyyah, the Leader of the Sect (*ṭãifah*, i.e., the Imãmiyyah), and man of exalted rank and high standing, trustworthy, revered, honest, knowledgeable in traditions, *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *uṣūl* (Principles of Faith), *kalãm*, literature, and all the excellences associated with them. He wrote on every subject in Islamic sciences, and was an educator in the doctrines of the roots of religion (*uṣūl*) and its branches (*furū‘*). He combined all the perfection of the soul in both knowledge and deed" (*Khulãṣatu 'l-aqwãl fī ‘ilmi 'rijãl*, p.148). as-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Mahdī Baḥri 'l-‘Ulūm aṭ-Ṭabãṭabã’ī (1155/1742–1212/1797), one of the greatest Imãmī scholars of recent times, said: "The true Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah (Chief of the Sect), who promoted the distinguishing marks of the true *sharī‘ah*, leader (*imãm*) of the sect (*firqah*) after the impeccable Imãms, and pillar of the Imãmī Shī‘ah in everything connected with (their) rite and religious. He investigated the roots (*uṣūl*) and the branches (*furū‘*) (of the religion), and taught the speculative and transmitted sciences: the absolute Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah, its leader towards whom all heads turn" (*Rijãl Baḥru 'l-‘Ulūm*, vol.3, pp.227-8).

Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah was born in Ṭūs in Khurãsãn, and he left for Iraq in 408/1018. He was with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd from the time he arrived Bahgdad up to the time of his teachers' death in 413/1022, after which he was with ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã until he too died in 436/1044. After them, he took over the position of teaching and leading the Shī‘ī sect.

One of the strange things that as-Subkī tells us about Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah is that "he belonged to the Shãfi‘ī school . . . He arrived in Baghdad and went to serious study of the Shãfi‘ī sect. He read *uṣūl* (*ad-dīn*) and *kalãm* with ‘Abdullãh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn an-Nu‘mãn, famous as al-Mufīd, the Imãmī legist . . ." aṣ-Ṣafadī mentions him, and adds, as do those who rely on him: "He stayed permanently with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd and became a Rãfiḍite" (as-Subkī, *Ṭabaqãtu 'sh-Shãfi‘iyyah*, vol.4, p.126; aṣ-Ṣafadī, *al-Wãfī bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.2, p.349; as-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqãtu 'l-mufassirīn*, p.29; ad-Dãwūdī, *Ṭabaqãtu 'l-mufassirīn*, vol.2, p.127; *Kashfu 'ẓ-ẓunūn*, vol.1, p.452; vol.2, p.1581; *Mu‘jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.9, p.202).

We cannot preclude that Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah studied non-Imãmī *fiqh*, be it Shãfi‘ī or other, and it can been seen from the lives of Imãmī scholars that they studied science from non-Imãmī teachers wherever they had to; and in the list of such scholars we find the names of the *shaykh*s al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍã and aṭ-Ṭūsī, who are the exemplars and models for others whether

they be scholars in *ḥadīth* or *kalãm*. But we must condemn any kind of religious propaganda which is not based on the facts and is not supported by historical evidence and which claims that the Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah was in the beginning a Shãfi'ite and then became an Imãmī, for it is true, his Imãmī biographers would have indicated it and counted it as one of his virtues and of his teacher ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd (that he brought a Shãfi'ī into the fold of Shī'ism), as was the case for many other scholars (see #s.41, 43, 70, 76, 77, 118, etc.). Nor can any non-Imãmī *shaykh* be found among Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah's teachers who was a Shãfi'ite legist from whom he could have learnt Shãfi'ī *fiqh*. Moreover, as can be seen from the biography of Abū Manṣūr aṣ-Ṣarrãm an-Naysãbūrī, aṭ-Ṭūsī studied his *Bayãnu 'd-dīn* with Abū Hãshim an-Naysãbūrī in Naysãbūr. Since aṭ-Ṭūsī was born in 385/995 and came to Baghdad in 408/1018, he must have studied with Abū Ḥãzim in Naysãbūr before 408/1018, i.e., before he was 23 years old. He had therefore already been studying Imãmī texts with Imãmī teachers before coming to Baghdad, and before being a pupil of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd.[21]

ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī studied with a great number of scholars of *ḥadīth*, and al-'Allãmah al-Ḥillī counted twenty-four of them; eleven of them non-Imãmī, and thirteen of them Imãmī (*al-Ijãzatu 'l-kabīrah li-Banū Zuhrah: al-Biḥãr*, vol.1, pp.107, 136-7). We also find the figure of thirty-three (in *Ãl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, Introduction to *Rijãlu 'ṭ-Ṭūsī*, pp.35-42), thirty-seven (in *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, pp.509-10); Ãghã Buzurg, Introduction to *at-Tibyãn*, vol.1, pp.37-42) and fifty-two (in Introduction to *al-Biḥãr*, vol.1, pp.63-66).

However, Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah did not study any *kalãm* with any other teachers apart from al-Mufīd and al-Murtaḍã; but al-'Allãmah al-Ḥillī mentions among his non-Imãmī (*'ãmmah*) masters: "Abū 'Alī ibn Shãdhãn, the *mutakallim*" (*Ijãzatu 'l-kabīrah li Banū Zuhrah: al-Biḥãr*, vol.107, p.136; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, p.509). This is al-Ḥasan ibn Abī Bakr Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan, Abū 'Alī ibn Shãdhãn al-Bazzãz ad-Dawraqī al-Baghdãdī (339/951–426/1034), a memorizer of *ḥadīth*. It is said of him: "He was trustworthy, honest and had heard a great deal of *ḥadīth*. His original books of *ḥadīth* were authentic (*ṣaḥīḥu 'l-uṣūl*); he was a jurisprudent and a *mutakallim*. He followed the Ash'arite School in *kalãm*. He is famous for having been an imbiber of *nabīdh*, a slightly alcoholic beverage made from raisins, dates, etc., and perhaps honey, until he eventually gave it up . . ." adh-Dhahabī says of him: "He was the principal link in most Irãqī chains of transmission (of *ḥadīth*)" (*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.7, p.279-80; *al-Muntaẓim*,

[21] For references see §17.

vol.8, pp.86-87; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.9, p.445; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.39; *Mir'ãtu 'l-jinãn*, vol.3, p.44; *Shadharãtu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, pp.228-9; *al-Ansãb*, vol.5, p.394; vol.8, p.5; *Tadhkiratu 'l-ḥuffãẓ*; vol.3, 1075).

It has been thought that Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah studied *kalãm* under this Ibn Shãdhãn, but this is not so, for he himself specifies what he learnt from him in his biography of al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyã, Abū Muḥammad Ibn Akhī Ṭãhir al-Ḥusaynī, Shaykhu 'n-Nasab (d. 358/969): "Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ibn Abī Ja'far, an-Nassãbah, narrated to us from him, as did Abū 'Alī ibn Shãdhãn among the non-Imãmiyyah" (*ar-Rijãl*, p.465). And in the chains of transmission of non-Imãmite *ḥadīth* he is also one of the narrators of Ibn Akhī Ṭãhir (*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.7, p.421; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, p.49; *Mīzãnu 'l-i'tidãl*, vol.1, p.521; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, pp.252-3).

Now, there has been a confusion between this Ibn Shãdhãn, the non-Imãmī, and Ibn Shãdhãn, the Imãmī, who was another one of aṭ-Ṭūsī's *shaykh*s. This person was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ibn Shãdhãn al-Fãmī al-Qummī, the legist (a.d. 412/1021), author of the following books:-

1. *al-Miatu 'l-manqabah min manãqib Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn 'alayhi 's-salãm* (One Hundred of the Virtues of Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him).
2. *Īḍãḥ dafãini 'n-nawãṣib* (Explanation of the Buried Treasures of the Nawãṣib); the Nawãṣib were a sect famous for their detestation of Amīr al-Mu'minīn; and
3. *Raddu 'sh-shams 'alã Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn* (The Reflection of the Sun in Amīr al-Mu'minīn).

For his biography see: *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.104; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.241-2; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.73; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.15, pp.17-18; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, p.500; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.1, p.323; *Kanzu 'l-fawãid*, pp.62, 259, 282, [al-Karãjikī (see § 122) was one of those who narrated from him]; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.2, p.63; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., pp.150-1; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, pp.494-5; vol.19, pp.2-3; and for the nature of aṭ-Ṭūsī's narration from him, see aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Amãlī*, vol.2, pp.295, 299, 300, 317, and for the confusion between them see ash-Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭūsī, pp.156-7.

ash-Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭūsī lived in Baghdad after the death of his teacher al-Murtaḍã (436/1044) as the head of the Imãmiyyah for several troublesome years filled with bloody clashes and successive riots between the Shī'ī and Sunnī Muslim brothers, in which innocent blood, which Allãh ordained should not be spilt and drained away, was shed; the Muslims' honour, which Allãh commanded to be protected, was disgraced, and property, which Allãh

commanded be made safe from spoliation, was pillaged. This continued until 448/1056, when Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah was compelled to emigrate to an-Najaf al-Ashraf (also then known as al-Ghariyy, where Amīr al-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him, had been laid to rest) – "and his house in Baghdad was plundered" (*al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.173; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.69).

In Ṣafar, 449 (April, 1057), for the second time "the house in al-Karkh of Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī, the *mutakallim* of the Shī'ah and the legist of the Imãmiyyah was attacked, and whatever was found in it of his works, his note-books and his books were plundered and taken away, together with the chair in which he sat to debate and give his lessons, as well as three white *majãniq* (pl. of *manjanīq* [catapult]; this is an error for *sanãjiq*, pl. of *sanjaq*, which is a kind of banner denoting official status) which the pilgrims from al-Karkh used to take with them when they went to visit the tomb of Amīr al-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him, in an-Najaf al-Ashraf and the noble holy place of al-Ḥusayn at Karbalã', the Sacred. All these things were burnt. Among the items were "his books, the notes and memoranda which he availed himself of in his errings and innovations to which he called the people of his country and creed – may Allãh be praised", according to Ibn Kathīr (*al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.179; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.9, pp.637-8; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, pp.71-72). "In the end, his house was burnt down, and it turned to ashes." (*EI*[1], p.982; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.97). The books of Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah "were burnt several times before the people in the public square of the mosque of the palace" – that is, the caliphal palace (*Ṭabaqãtu 'sh-Shãfi'iyyah*, vol.4, p.127; *Ṭabaqãtu 'l-mufassirīn*, vol.2, p.127; *Kashfu 'ẓ-ẓunūn*, vol.1, p.452; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.5, p.135; *al-A'lãm*, vol.6, p.315). The chair (*kursī*) had been given to aṭ-Ṭūsī by the caliph al-Qãim, the 'Abbãsid (391/1001 – became caliph in 422/1031– d. 467/1075) out of esteem for him (*Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.105; *Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, Introduction to his *Rijãl*, p.31; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.2, p.395; *ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī*, pp.75, 78).

The phenomenon of the annihilation of the signs of civilization and scientific and intellectual wealth is one of the evils with which mankind is afflicted, especially Islamic civilization; and one of the first things which destroyers of ideas and knowledge set out to do it to get rid of the scientific and intellectual heritage, especially libraries and colleges, by arson, wrecking, plundering and tearing apart. The like of these tragedies and crimes will continue to repeat itself as long as men can be put to the test by what is in their mentality, just like Ibn Kathīr – and how many Ibn Kathīrs there are, unfortunately, among mankind.

And what they did to the books of Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah and his works is not the worst of what the criminals did in these series of successive hideous tragedies, for what they did with the Sãbūriyyah treasury of books was worse and more abominable. Briefly, this is what happened. In 381/991 the *wazīr* Bahãu 'd-Dawlah Abū Naṣr Sãbūr [= Shãpūr] ibn Ardashīr (336/948–416/1025), the *wazīr* of Bahãu 'd-Dawlah Abū Naṣr ibn ‘Aḍudī 'd-Dawlah ad-Daylamī (360/971–403/1012), purchased a house in al-Karkh in Baghdad in a place called "Baynu 's-Sūrayn", which was one of the largest and most beautyful quarters in al-Karkh, as well as one of the most populated (see *Mu‘jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.1, p.534; vol.3, p.279; *Marãṣidu 'l-iṭṭilã‘*, vol.1, p.245; vol.2, p.754). He reconstructed it, whitewashed it, and improved it, and this was completed in 383/993. He called it "Dãru 'l-‘Ilm" (House of knowledge). Then he had many books brought there, which he had bought and collected while he had been *wazīr*, catalogued them, and left it as a religious endowment to the people of al-Karkh, most of whom were Imãmī Shī‘īs. He assigned someone to take over the direction of the "Dãr", and supervisors for the running of it. Finally, he endowed it with munificent bequests (*al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, p.172; vol.8, p.22; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.9, p.101; Ibn Kathīr, vol.11, p.312; vol.12, p.19; *Shadharãtu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.104; *an-Nujūmu 'z-zãhirah*, vol.4, p.164; *EI*[1], vol.4, pp.28-29; Sãbūr ibn Ardashīr, *Tãrīkhu 'l-khulafã'*, p.656).

There were 10,400 volumes of scientific writings in the "Dãr". "There was no more beautiful (collection of) books in the world than this; they were all in the script of the leading learned men in their original amended manuscripts", according to Yãqūt al-Ḥamawī, a scholar who had an extensive knowledge of antiquities, geography and manuscripts. Among them were a hundred copies of the Holy Qur'ãn in the script of Banū Muqlah, one of the most famous calligraphers in the first Islamic centuries (*al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.22; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.9, p.350; vol.10, p.8; *Mu‘jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.1, p.534; *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, [Arabic ed.], vol.11, p.35). After the death of Sãbūr, the direction of the "Dãru 'l-‘Ilm" fell to ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã (Gharsu 'n-Ni‘mah, *al-Hafawãtu 'n-nãdirah*, pp.143-4; *Mu‘jamu 'l-udabã'*, vol.6, p.359).

In Dhu 'l-Qi‘dah, 451 (Dec., 1059), about two years after the tragedy of Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah's library and the disturbances and riots to which Iraq was witness, and after Tughrul-beg, Muḥammad ibn Mīkã'īl as-Saljūqī al-Ghuzzī (*c.*385/995–455/1063) had entered Baghdad, the Hãshimīds rebelled. They were related to Banū ‘Abbãs, the caliphal dynasty in those days. And the people of Bãb al-Baṣrah joined them; this was an area where the people were the declared enemies of the people of al-Karkh in terms of both their sects and their intellectual lives. They went in to al-Karkh and pillaged it; they

spread fire in the market area, and burnt down the library which had been bequeathed by Sãbūr and which had been called "Dãru 'l-ʻIlm" (House of Knowledge). They set fire to Darb az-Zaʻfarãnī in which there were one thousand two hundred houses, every one of which was of great value (*al-Muntaẓim*, vol. 8, pp.22, 205, 216; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.9, p.350; vol.10, p.8; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, pp.19, 85; *EI*[1], vol.4, pp.28-29).

These tragedies were not unique of their kind. Rayy, one of the most important centres of learning of all the various Islamic cultures had suffered a tragedy on a par with that of al-Karkh about thirty years before. When Maḥmūd ibn Sabuktikīn al-Ghaznawī (361/971–421/1030) conquered Rayy in 420/1029, of the things he did, one was to burn all the Imãmī and Zaydī Shīʻī books he could find, as well as the Muʻtazilī books, and every book which opposed his religious beliefs (Ḥanafite), so that nothing was left for him to take possession of (*al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, pp.38-40; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.9 p.372; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.26; Ibn Khaldūn, vol.4, pp.375-6, 478).

A similar event occurred at the same time in Ḥalab (Aleppo) in connection with the great "Dãru 'l-Kutub" (library) which the Imãmī monarch Sayfu 'd-Dawlah, ʻAlī ibn ʻAbdillãh ibn Ḥamdãn al-Ḥamdãnī (303/915–356/967), had built in his capital; and other Shīʻī libraries met the same fate (*Khiṭãṭu 'sh-Shãm*, vol.6, p.186). Some years later, the same thing happened to the library which Asʻad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Rawḥ al-Qãḍī Abu 'l-Faḍl aṭ-Ṭarãbulusī (d. before 530/1135) had built. He was the pupil of Ibnu 'l-Barrãj (see §3) and occupied his position when he died, taking over the judiciary in Tripoli (Ṭarãbulus, Lebanon). He wrote books on *kalãm* and *fiqh*. But towards the end of his life he went to Hayfã (Haifa) and established a library where he collected together more than four thousand volumes (*Mīzãnu 'l-iʻtidãl*, vol.1, p.210; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.1, pp.386-7; *Ṭabaqãt aʻlãmi 'sh-Shīʻah*, 6th cent., pp.20-21).

It is for these and similar reasons, then, that we find that of the titles that are included in the famous indices of Imãmī books, the *Fihrist* of aṭ-Ṭūsī and the *Fihrist* of an-Najãshī, including the writings of the Imãmī *mutakallim*s which we have mentioned, all but an extremely small number have been lost or destroyed.

I have made a passing reference to these painful events, but I have not sought to disclose the inner reasons or motives for them, nor have I mentioned the perpetrators, not because I have decided not to investigate the history of these things, but because I am most anxious that we should not anger our brothers, especially in these sensitive times. We desire by all means to safe-

guard their friendship and love for us, and to avoid their anger and antipathy, for, Allãh knows, these brothers of ours today are not those who perpetrated these crimes. Whatever feelings we harbour towards them are the scoldings of brotherly fault finding, that they should judge people favourable when they are managing their own affairs and yield to others when they are doing what they want to do. May Allãh cause affection to exist between us and those among them who treat us as enemies? "Allãh is all-Powerful; all-Forgiving; all-Compassionate" (quoted from the words of Allãh in *sūrah al-Mumtaḥanah* [The Woman Tested), 60:7).

There was already a climate of learning in an-Najaf al-Ashraf before Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah migrated there, but it was erratic and somewhat feeble; however, after he moved there the intellectual atmosphere became much more animated. He created it so that it became one of the most important centres of learning for the Imãmiyyah from the middle of the 5th/11th century upto the present day. In many ways it has been one of the liveliest of all the great and important centres of learning. ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī lived in an-Najaf al-Ashraf till he died, and he was buried there. His tomb is still to be seen near the mosque which bears his name – Jãmi‘u 'ṭ-Ṭūsī, and which was originally his resting place.

Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah is oe of the great Imãmī *mutakallim*s. At first he a believer in the doctrine of *wa‘īd* (threat), which al-Khwãnsãrī, the author of *ar-Rawḍãt*, describes thus: ". . . (it was the doctrine) that the mind cannot accept that Allãh, may He be exalted, can forgive the major sins without repentance, as all the *wa‘diyyah* believers in *wa‘īd*) maintain." Then he renounced this belief (al-‘Allãmah, p.148; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.6, p.217). He wrote works in all the branches of Islam. Among those, which deal with the discussions within kalãm, are the following:-

1. *Tamhīdu 'l-uṣūl*. This was a commentary on *Jumalu 'l-‘ilm wa 'l-amal* by his teacher ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã (see §39/bk.4).
2. *Muqaddamah fi 'l-madkhal ilã ‘ilmi 'l-kamãl* (Introduction to the Beginning of the Science of Theology). He himself described it as being "without equal". It was printed in *Yãdnãmah Shaykh-e Ṭūsī*, ed. M. Wã‘iẓ-zãdeh, University of Mashhad, School of Theology and Islamic Studies, (Iran), vol.2, pp.184-214, and it explains quite adequetly the terminology of *kalãm*.
3. The commentary to this Introduction called *Riyãḍatu 'l-‘uqūl* (The Exercise of Minds).
4. *al-Iqtiṣãd al-hãdī ilã ṭarīqi 'r-rashãd fī-mã yajibu ‘ala 'l-‘ibãd* (The Provident Course Which Guides to the Path of Reason Concerning

What is Incumbent upon Man). It is in two parts: i) What he should believe in, the more important section and the more extensive; and ii) What actions he should perform.

5. *Mas'alah fi 'l-aḥwãl* (The "States", of some of the Mu'tazilites such as al-Jubbã'ī), which he himself describes as "a handsome [book]".
6. *Mã yu'allal wa mã lã yu'allal* (What Needs a Cause and What does not Need a Cause).
7. *Mã lã yasa'u 'l-mukallafa 'l-ikhlãl bih* (What Whose Infringement is not Permitted the Person under Obligation [to God]).
8. *Mas'alah fi 'l-ḥusn wa 'l-qubḥ* (On Good and Evil).
9. *al-Masãilu 'l-kalãmiyyah fī uṣūli 'd-dīn* (*Kalãm* Matters Concerning the Principles of the Religion). Thirty-three short articles (*adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.20, p.364).
10. *Uṣūlu 'l-'aqãid* (Principles of Faith).
11. *al-Kãfī fī 'ilmi 'l-kalãm* (The Sufficient Book on the Science of Theology).
12. *Iṣṭilãḥãtu 'l-mutakallimīn* (The Terminology of the *Mutakallim*s).
13. *Talkhīs "ash-Shãfī"* (printed). The abridgement of the book of his teacher, ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã.
14. *al-Mufṣiḥ fi 'l-imãmah* (manuscript) (The Clarification of the Imãmate).
15. *al-Istīfã' fi 'l-imãmah* (The Complete Book on the Imãmate).
16. *an-Naqḍ 'alã Ibn Shãdhãn fī mas'alati 'l-ghãr* (On the 'Cave': this is the cave in which the Prophet and Abū Bakr took refuge when fleeing from Meca, and the argument about it concerns its being a sign of Abū Bakr's legitimacy as caliph). I believe this to be Abū 'Alī Ibn Shãdhãn whom we mentioned in our list of the teachers of ash-Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭūsī.
17. *Tafsīr "at-Tibyãn"*. This is a large commentary, which has been printed. It contains a great many opinions from *kalãm*. (Consult the contents of: *ash-Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭūsī*, pp.233-309.)
18. *al-Masãilu 'l-Junbulãiyyah.* Twenty-four questions and answers. (Junbulã' is a small town between Wãsiṭ and Kūfah – *Mu'jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.2, p.168; *Marãsidu 'l-iṭṭilã'*, vol.1, p.350.)
19. *al-Masãilu 'l-Ḥãiriyyah*. About three hundred questions and answers. (al-Ḥãir is a name given to Karbalã', where al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, peace be upon him, the Chief of the Martyrs, was killed.)
20. *al-Masãilu 'd-Dimashqiyyah*. Twelve Questions and Answers.
21. *al-Masãilu 'l-Ḥalabiyyah*.
22. *al-Masãilu 'r-Rãziyyah fi 'l-wa'īd*.
23. *al-Masãilu 'r-Rajabiyyah*. He described these as "commentaries on the

Qur'ãn, the like of which has not been written."

24. *al-Masãil fi 'l-farq bayna 'n-nabiyy wa 'l-imãm* (Concerning the Difference Between the Prophet and the Imãm).
25. *al-Masãilu 'l-Ilyãsiyyah*. He describes these as "a hundred questions and answers on a variety of topics".

It is necessary to point out that some biographers have made the mistake of confusing Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah with Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, Naṣīru 'd-Ḍīn aṭ-Ṭūsī, called Khwãjah (597/1201–672/1274), the philosopher, *mutakallim*, legist and scholar of *ḥadīth*, the famous servant of the speculative sciences and mathematics. az-Ziriklī mentions in his *al-A'lãm* (vol.6, p.315) under the entry accorded to Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭūsī some of the books of Khwãjah Naṣīru 'd-Dīn, and he mentions *Maṣãri'u 'l-musãri'* written in refutation of the book *al-Muṣãri'*, by ash-Shahrastãnī (Muḥammad ib 'Abdi 'l-Karīm [479/1086–548/1153]) in which he criticizes some of the beliefs and opinions of Ibn Sinã (al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abdillãh [370/980–428/ 1037]).

The most important sources for the life of ash-Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭūsī are: aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.188-90; an-Najãshī, p.316; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, pp.102-3; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, pp.191-4; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, pp.104-5; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.15, pp.270-5; *Rijãl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.3, pp.227-40; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.6, pp.216-49; ash-Shaykh Ãghã Buzurg, Introduction to *Tafsīru 'l-Tibyãn* (78 pages); *idem.*, Introduction to *an-Nihãyah*, (50 pages); as-Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣãdiq Ãl Baḥri 'l-'Ulūm, Introduction to *ar-Rijãl* (126 pages); *idem.*, Introduction to *al-Amãlī* (50 pages); *Dalīlu 'l-qaḍã'i 'sh-shar'ī*, vol.3, pp.176-212; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, pp.505-510; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.2, p.72; Ḥasan 'Īsã al-Ḥakīm *ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī* – M.A. thesis, University of Baghdad), Maṭba'atu 'l-Ãdãb – an-Najaf al-Ashraf 1375/1975 (704 pages with indexes).

The School of Theology and Islamic Studies at the University of Mashhad, Iran, took part in the celebrations of thousandth anniversary of the birth of Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah by holding a conference which took place from 11th – 15th Muḥarram 1390/19th–23rd March 1970, in which many scholars and researchers, Eastern and Orientalist took part, from about twenty countries. The proceedings of the conference collected together the papers and the discussions, among which were manuscripts published for the first time, in three large volumes.

§127. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī, ash-Shaykh Abū 'Alī al-Fattãl (Ibn) al-Fãrisī an-Naysãbūrī (d. 508/ 1114-5, or *c.*514/1120): A *faqīh*, a narrator of *ḥadīth*, a Qur'ãnic exegete, and a renowned *mutakallim*, trustworthy in narration.

He studied under ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã and Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī. He wrote a number of books, the most famous of which is *Rawḍatu 'l-wã'iẓīn*, which has been printed.

The biographers differ over his personal name, between Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī and Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī; and over his *laqab* between al-Fattãl and al-Fãrisī. The result is that some biographers have claimed these were two different persons. They also differ about the death: most say his death was in the year given by Ibn Ḥajar, 508/1114-5, while Ibn Dãwūd and a group including al-'Allãmah al-Amīnī, who agree with him, say: "He was killed by Abu 'l-Maḥãsin 'Abdu 'r-Razzãq (ibn 'Abdillãh ibn 'Alī, Shihãbu 'd-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī ash-Shãfi'ī [d. 515/1122], pupil of the Imãmu 'l-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī, *wazīr* of Sulṭãn Sanjar as-Saljūqī, the *faqīh*, *muftī* and debater), the chief of Naysãbūr, called Shihãbu 'l-Islãm." Muntajabu 'd-Dīn describes him in one of his biographical writings as "ash-Shaykh, ash-Shahīd (the Martyr)". as-Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī al-Khirsãn verifies in his introduction to *Rawḍatu 'l-wã'iẓīn* that if he was killed in the days when Abu 'l-Maḥãsin was *wazīr*, it must be *c.*514/1120. (Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist:* "ash-Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Fattãl an-Naysãbūrī, author of a commentary . . .": *al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.272; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.155; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.288; and "ash-Shaykh ash-Shahīd Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Fãrisī, author of the book *Rawḍatu 'l-wã'iẓin*": *al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.288; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãṭ*, vol.2, p.62; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.242.)
[See: *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.103 (Muḥammad al-Ḥasan . . .); *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.260; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.73; vol.3, pt.1, p.158; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.15, pp.20, 64; vol.17, p.59; Both of the last two contain the same as is found in the following: *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.6, pp.253-62; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.289; Ibn Dãwūd, p.295; *Manhaju 'l-maqãl*, p.280; Introduction to aṭ-Ṭūsī's *Rijãl*, p.47; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.395; *Shuhadã'u 'l-faḍīlah*, pp.37-38; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.1, pt.2, p.20 [under Shī'ī *mutakallim*s]; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.3, pp.212-3; *al-Fawãidu 'r-Raḍawiyyah*, pp.504, 574; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 6th cent., pp.246-7; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.1, p.305; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, p.392; *Rawḍatu 'l-wã'iẓīn* (printed in an-Najaf al-Ashraf), The Introduction, *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.5, p.44; *Īḍãḥu 'l-maknūn*, vol.1, pp.334, 598; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.9, p.200.]

§128. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ḥamzah, Abū Ya'lã al-Ja'farī al-Baghdãdī (d. 463/1071): He was a *faqīh*, a *mutakallim*, a Qur'ãnic exegete, and a scholar of *ḥadīth*. He was a descendant of Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭãlib.

He was very close to ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd and studied under him; he even married his daughter, and when al-Mufīd died he left him his library. He also studied under ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã. an-Najãshī says: "He was close to ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd, and excelled in his knowledge of the two *uṣūl*s (*uṣūlu 'd-dīn* and *uṣūlu 'l-fiqh*, *kalãm*, and jurisprudence) and *fiqh*. He was the representative of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd and participated in his sessions. He was a *mutakallim* and a *faqīh*, and an expert in both subjects (i.e., *kalãm* and *fiqh*)".

Among his writings are:-

1. *al-Mūjaz fi 't-tawḥīd* (The Concise Statement on Divine Unity).
2. *Jawãbu 'l-masãili 'l-wãridah min al-Ḥãir ‘alã Ṣãḥibihi 's-salãm* (Answers to Questions which Came from Karbalã’, may peace be upon the Lord of the place [i.e., the Imãm al-Ḥusayn]).
3. *Jawãb mas’alat ahli 'l-Mawṣil* (Answers to Questions from the People of al-Mawṣil).
4. *Jawãbu 'l-masãili 'l-wãridah min Ṭarãbulus* (Answers to Questions Which Came from Tripoli).
5. *Jawãbu 'l-mas’alati 'l-wãridah min Ṣaydã* (Answer to Question Which Came from Ṣaydã).
6. *al-Mas’alah fī anna 'l-fa‘‘ãl ghayr hãdhihi 'l-jumlah* (Treaties on the Fact that the Agent [Man] is Other than [merely] this Totality [of Limbs and Organs]) (see § 149/bk.6).
7. *Ajwibat masãil shattã fī funūn mina 'l-‘ilm*, (Answers to Diverse Questions on Various Matters of Knowledge).
8. *al-Mas’alah fī mawlid Ṣãḥibu 'z-Zamãn, ‘alayhi 's-salãm* (Question on the Birth of the Twelfth Imãm, peace be upon him).
9. *al-Mas’alah fi 'r-radd ‘ala 'l-ghulãt* (Refutation of Extremism [About the Imãmate]).

[an-Najãshī, pp.316-7; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, p.185; Ibn Dãwūd, p.304; al-‘Allãmah, p.164; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.300; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.91; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.101; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.15, pp.235-7; *ad-Darajãtu 'r-rafī‘ah*, pp.499-500; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.4, pp.299-300; vol.5, p.156; *Ta’sīsu 'sh-Shī‘ah*, p.382; *‘Umdatu 'ṭ-Ṭãlib*, pp.30-31; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.1, pp.186-7; *Ṭabaqãt a‘lãmi 'sh-Shī‘ah*, 5th cent., pp.159-60; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.271; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.10, pp.68-69; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.104; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.20, p.360; vol.5, p.35; *Hadiyyatu 'l-‘ãrifīn*, vol.2, p.73; *Mu‘jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.9, p.201.]

§129. Muḥammad ibn Hibatillãh ibn Ja‘far, Abū ‘Abdillãh al-Warrãq aṭ-Ṭarãbulusī: A *faqīh*, *mutakallim* and trustworthy narrator

who studied under Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī all the latter's books and writing. He wrote several books, including: *al-Wãṣitah bayna 'n-nafy wa 'l-ithbãt* (The Middle-Way Between Negation and Affirmation [i.e., of the "states" of some Mu'tazilites]); and *al-Uṣūl wa 'l-fuṣūl* (Principles and Parts).
[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.265; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.121; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.212; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.312-3; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.198; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, p.360; *al-Fawãidu 'r-Raḍawiyyah*, p.657; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.189.]

§130. Muḥammad ibn Ḥukaym al-Kath'amī: He was one of the companions of the Imãms aṣ-Ṣãdiq and al-Kãẓim (129/746–183/799), peace be upon them both.

al-Kishshī narrates that someone named those who were experts in *kalãm* to Abu 'l-Ḥasan (al-Kãẓim, peace be upon him), and he said: "As for Ibn Ḥukaym, let him alone (i.e. his excellence requires no mention)." It is also narrated that al-Kãẓim, peace be upon him, ordered him to sit down with the people of Medina in the mosque of the Messenger of Allãh, the blessing and peace of Allãh be upon him and his Household, and to discuss and debate with them; when he had acquitted himself of this task, the Imãm, peace be upon him, said to him: "What did you say to them, and what did they say to you?" and he was pleased with what he had done.
[al-Kishshī, pp.448-9; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, p.200; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.308-9; al-'Allãmah, p.151; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.354; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, pp.102-3; *Rijãl Baḥru 'l-'ulūm*, vol.1, p.400; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.109; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, pp.37-40.]

§131. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Abi 'l-Khaṭṭãb, Abū Ja'far az-Zayyãt al-Hamdãnī al-Kūfī (d. 262/876): It is said of him: "An important one of our scholars, of great rank. He narrated many *aḥãdīth*, and was completely trustworthy. He was excellent in writing, and complete reliance can be had on his narration." He wrote several books, among which are:-

1. *at-Tawḥīd* (The Unity of God),
2. *ar-Radd 'alã ahli 'l-qadar* (Refutation of the Deniers of Predestination),
3. *al-Ma'rifah wa 'l-badã'* (Recognition of Allãh and *al-Badã'*).

[an-Najãshī, p.257; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.166; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.90; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, p.196; al-'Allãmah, p.141; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.285-6; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.302; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, pp.96-97; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.106; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.15, pp.324-9; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.4, p.481; vol.10, p.187; vol.21, p.245.]

§132. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Mūsã, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ash-Sharīf[22] ar-Raḍī al-Mūsawī (359/970–406/1015): The famous man of leters and poet. We shall give his complete lineage in the biography of his elder brother, ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã (see §39).

The literary aspect of the personality of ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī predominated over the learned and scholarly aspect of it, with the result that the majority of his biographers did not pay attention to him and study his personality except from this side. What is more, it was his fate that his eleder full brother, ash-Sharīf al-Murtḍã, should be his contemporary, for this latter surpassed him in the scholarly aspect, being conspicuously superior, and also lived thirty years longer than he did. The result was that his brother's learned character rather eclipsed his and the scholarly aspect of his own personally was played down by the generality of his biographers.

However, ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī – even though the literary aspect of his personality was quite prominent, and he held the position of he syndic of the Ṭãlibids (*naqību 'ṭ-Ṭãlibiyyīn*) after his father – was a scholar, a *mutakallim*, and a *faqīh*. He studied *fiqh* and *kalãm*, from the time when he was young, together with his brother al-Murtaḍã, with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd (see §144), just as he also learnt from al-Qãḍī ʻAbdu 'l-Jabbãr (320/932–415/1025), the famous Muʻtazilī scholar (*Talkhīṣu 'l-bayãn fī majãzãti 'l-Qur'ãn*, p.242; *al-Majãzãti 'n-nabawiyyah*, p.48). Among the books he studied with him were: *Taqrību 'l-uṣūl* (Clarification of the Principles), concerning *kalãm* (*Talkhīṣu 'l-bayãn*, pp.212-3), *Sharḥu 'l-uṣūli 'l-khamsah* (Commentary on the Five Principles), also concerning *kalãm* (*al-Majãzãt*, p.362) and *al-ʻUmad fī uṣūli 'l-fiqh* (The Foundations Concerning the Principles of Jurisprudence) (*al-Majãzãt*, p.180).

Of the books of ar-Raḍī, which reveal the scholarly side of his character, the most outstanding are the *Talkhīṣu 'l-bayãn fī majãzãti 'l-Qur'ãn* (Summary of the Proof Concerning the Allegories of the Qur'ãn) and *al-Majãzãtu 'n-nabawiyyah* (The Prophetic Allegories), and more important than these two, the remaining parts of his great and famous Qur'ãnic *tafsīr*, *Ḥaqãiqu 't-ta'wīl wa mutashãbihu 't-tanzīl* (The Realities of Hermeneutics and the Obscurity of the Sending Down), about which he said that in it he works through "the obscure *ãyah*s (verses) which seem to indicate God's anthropomorphism and the attributing of a body to Him, as well as the attribution of injustice and

[22] ash-Sharīf (noble), that is the title given to the descendants of the Holy Prophet, may Allãh bless him and his praogeny and preserve them. The title "as-Sayyid" also gives the same meaning. Sometimes "ash-Sharīf " is given to all the descendants of Hãshim.

oppression to Him, going through the clarification of obscurities and making clear what has been mistaken" (*al-Majãzãtu 'n-nabawiyyah*, Introduction [by the Author], pp.11-12).

In thse books of his, ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī deals with the topics of *kalãm*, to the extent that they are connected with the *ãyãt* (verses) and *aḥãdīth* (traditions) under considetration, starting out from "the foundation of the judgement of the intellect and the principles of justice (*'adl*), and this is the true root of the principles of religious thinking (*uṣūlu 'd-dīn*) which necessitates action in accordance with it and about which no further questions can be asked." (*Ḥaqãiqu 't-ta'wīl*, pp.277-8.) There are many references concerning the interpretation of Qur'ãnic verses as well as *aḥãdīth* from his teacher al-Qãḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbãr (see *Ḥaqãiqu 't-tawīl*, pp.10, 22, 41, 59, 68, 120, 156, 177, 184-5, 190, 204, 224, 234, 262, 273, 349; and also the matters we referred to before in *Talkhīṣu 'l-bayãn* and *al-Majãzãt*), from Abū 'Alī al-Jubbã'ī, Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi 'l-Wahhãb, the famous Mu'tazilī scholar (235/849–303/916), the author of a commentary on the Qur'ãn (*Ḥaqãiqu 't-ta'wīl*, pp.8, 10, 52, 126, 135, 259, 281, 333, 374; *Talkhīṣu 'l-bayãn*, p.167), from Abū Muslim Muḥammad ibn Baḥr al-Iṣfahãnī the Mu'tazilī 254/868–322/934), the exegete, *mutakallim* and man of letters, among whose most famous books is his great commentary on the Qur'ãn: *Jãmi'u 't-ta'wīl lī muḥkami 't-tanzīl* (*Ḥaqãiqu 't-ta'wīl*, pp.137, 138, 218, 231, 243, 245, 273), as well as other Mu'tazilī scholars, which show in what he relates of their view of things that sometimes he agrees, and sometimes he argues against and gives an opposite view.

The most interesting part of all this is that ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī himself mentions that he went through a period in his intellectual and scientific life when "schools of thought would swing back and forth and then settle, and ideas would become agitated and then calm down, according to the influence of longer time for the clarification of obscurities, the solution of the problems of doubtful matters, the arriving, at previously undiscovered proofs, and the coming to the surface of underlying factors influencing ideas and reflection.

"Amongst this is what the reader comes across in the beginning of our book (*Ḥaqãiqu 't-ta'wīl*), in what we wrote indicating our inclination to belief in *irjã'* (the doctrine of suspended judgement), and then, what he notices in the middle part and the 'hump' of it, of (our) statement indicating that belief in *wa'īd* (see §17) had been found to be true, [saying we were] certain of it and believed in it. The reason for the disparity in [holding] these two opinions, the original one and the subsequent one, the former and the

latter, was the ramification of questioning and doubts as time went on drawing out [this process]; [these difficulties] were driven on like a worn out camel and a way was cleared through their rough ground, till what had been holding them back rushed forward and hesitancy about them gave way [to confidence], by the grace of Allãh, His granting of success, His help and His settling of the matter." (*Ḥaqãiqu 't-ta'wīl*, pp.16-17.)

ash-Sharīf himself gives an *ayah* by which the Murji'ites proved their beliefs, and then follows their proof by saying: "The leading scholars who believe in *'adl* (justice) have gone in depth into the answers to this." Then he gives the answers to this *ayah* with adequate detail. (*Ḥaqãiqu 't-ta'wīl*, p.361-75.)

Perhaps among these "agitated" opinions was ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī's opinion about the creation of Paradise and the Fire (*Ḥaqãiqu 't-ta'wīl*, pp.246-8), and perhaps he abandoned this afterwards, if we had the rest of his *tafsīr*, it is possible that we could find evidence for this.

§133. Muḥammad ibn Ibrãhīm ibn Ja'far, Abū 'Abdillãh al-Kãtib an-Nu'mãnī, famous as **Ibn (Abī) Zaynab (d. *c.*360/971):** A scholar, narrator of *ḥadīth*, and a *mutakallim*. It is said of him: "(He was) of a great rank, of noble degree, correct in his convictions, he knew a great many *aḥãdīth*." He arrived in Baghdad, then left for ash-Shãm, and settled in Dimashq; then he went to live in Ḥalab (Aleppo) and died in ash-Shãm. The last date that is found for his narrated *aḥãdīth* is that which comes in his narration of the occultation from the year 342/953-4. And *Īḍãḥu 'l-maknūn* says that he died in 360/971, and the *circa* is added to his entry in *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*. *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, and *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*. He wrote several books, among which is: *al-Ghaybah* (which has been printed and *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Ismã'īliyyah* (Refutation of the Ismã'īlites).
[an-Najãshī, pp.297-8; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.105; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, pp.97-98; Ibn Dãwūd, p.290; al-'Allãmah, p.162; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.281; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, p.281; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.43; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pp.55-56; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.14, p.234; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.232-3; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.6, pp.127-9; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, pp.525-6; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.1, pp.195-6; *al-Fawãidu 'r-Raḍawiyyah*, p.337; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.230; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.83; vol.16, p.79. The Introduction to his book *al-Ghaybah*, (last ed.); *Īḍãḥu 'l-maknūn*, vol.1, p.310; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.2, p.46; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.8, p.195; Sezgin, I, 543, 38.]

§134. Muḥammad ibn Ibrãhīm ibn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Kãtib (281/894–*c.*353/964): One of the Imãmī *mutakallim*s, and one of their *faqīh*s, although, he used to make out that he was of the Shãfi'ite school of *fiqh*, and he was also known as Abū Bakr ash-Shãfi'ī. Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī and (Ibn) an-Nadīm says: "He practised *fiqh* according to the Shãfi'ite school ostensibly, but he secretly held the opinions of the Imãmī Shī'ah. He was a *faqīh* of the two sects, and he wrote books according to both sects." The Shãfi'ites say: "He is one of our important *faqīh*s." (Ibn) an-Nadīm says of him, including him among the Shãfi'ite *faqīh*s: "He was one of the important Shãfi'ites" (as-Subkī, *Ṭabaqãtu 'sh-Shãfi'iyyah*, vol.3, p.63; [Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.267 [he adds: "He wrote books according to the school of the Shī'ah."]).

Among his books written according to Imãmiyyah beliefs are:-

1. *Kashfu 'l-qinã'* (The Removal of the Veil);
2. *Naqḍu 'l-'Abbãsiyyah* (The Refutation of the 'Abbãsids);
3. *al-Isti'dãd* (Preparedness);
4. *al-'Uddah* (Readiness);
5. *al-Istibṣãr* (The Ability to Reflect).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.159; *ar-Rijãl*, p.511; an-Najãshī, pp.287-8; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, pp.86-87; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, pp.246-7; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, p.100; Ibn Dãwūd, p.291; al-'Allãmah, p.144; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.282; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.44; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.57; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.14, pp.237-8; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.2, p.44; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.8, p.223; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.231; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, pp.13-14, 28; vol.15, p.226; vol.18, p.52; vol.24, p.288.]

§135. Muḥammad ibn 'Īsã ibn 'Ubayd ibn Yaqṭīn, Abū Ja'far al-'Ubaydī al-Yaqṭīnī al-Baghdãdī: One of the ompanions of the Imãms ar-Riḍã, al-Hãdī and al-'Askarī, peace be upon them. An important narrator of *ḥadīth*, a man of knowledge, a *mutakallim*; he studied with Yūnus ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn (see §165) and was so attached to him that he was given the name "Yūnusī". al-Faḍl ibn Shãdhãn (see §57) was fond of him, praised him, commended him and was favourably disposed towards him, and said of him: "there is no-one like him among his associates." an-Najãshī says of him: "He was one of our important co-sectarians, reliable (in narration), and an eminent person. He knew many narrations and was a good author." He wrote several books, among which are:-

1. *al-Imãmah* (The Imãmate);

2. *al-Ma'rifah*;
3. *al-Wãḍiḥu 'l-makshūf fi 'r-radd 'alã ahli 'l-wuqūf* (The Unveiled Clarity in Refutation of the Wãqifah).

[al-Kishshī, p.537; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.167; *ar-Rijãl*, pp.393, 422, 435, 511; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, pp.16-18; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, pp.278-9; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.508-9; al-'Allãmah, pp.141-2; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.327; *Jãmi 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, pp.166-8; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, pp.167-70; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, pp.126-34; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.336; vol.21, p.245; vol.25, p.11; *al-Wãfī bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.7, p.297.]

§136. Muḥammad ibn Isḥãq al-Qummī: He was one of the companyions of al-Imãm al-Jawãd, peace be upon him (195/811–220/835). Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khãlid al-Barqī (d. 274/887) narrated from him. an-Najãshī says: "He was a *mutakallim*. Ibn Buṭṭah mentions him, and he says that he has a number of writings. He says: 'Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khãlid informed us from him.'" And Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī said: "He wrote books about *kalãm* and about traditions."

[an-Najãshī, p.266; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.182; *ar-Rijãl*, p.513; al-Barqī, *ar-Rijãl*, pp.56-57; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.1, pp.100, 148; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.282, 292; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.45; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.57; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.14, p.242.]

§137. Muḥammad ibn Ja'far ibn Muḥammad, Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Ḥamadãnī al-Wãdi'ī, famous as **Ibn al-Marãghī (d. 376/986):** an-Najãshī says: "He was an important figure in grammar and lexicography in Baghdad. He had a good memory, and was correct in traditions. He was also much occupied with *kalãm*." His contemporary, Abū Ḥayyãn at-Tawḥīdī says of him: "He had great skill with words, an extensive memory, and nobility of soul; he was an effective speaker, and a narrator of many traditions." (Ibn) an-Nadīm also mentions him: "He was a teacher of 'Izzu 'd-Dawlah Abū Manṣūr (Bakhtiyãr ibn Mu'izzi 'd-Dawlah ibn Būyah [331/942 –367/978]) and he was a memorizer (of the Qur'ãn and *ḥadīth*,) a grammarian, an orator, and a narrator of traditions." Yãqūt praises him and mentions that he died in his youth. al-Khaṭīb mentions that al-Maḥãmilī heard (*ḥadīth*) from him in 371 (981–982), and as-Suyūṭī makes this the date of his death; others agree with him. But the actual date is that which Ibnu 'l-Jawzī mentions, and this is the one we have quoted. Among his books is: *Kitãbu 'l-Khalīlī fi 'l-imãmah* (The Book of al-Khalīlī on the Imãmate).

[an-Najãshī, p.307; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, p.176; Ibn Dãwūd, p.302; al-

‘Allãmah, p.163; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.307; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.86; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.94; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.15, p.178; *Ta’sīsu 'sh-Shī‘ah*, pp.95-96; *Ṭabaqãt a‘lãmi 'sh-Shī‘ah*, 4th cent., p.258; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.94; *Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.2, pp.152-3; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, p.134; *Mu‘jamu 'l-udabã’*, vol.6, pp.466-7; *al-Imtã‘ wa 'l-muãnasah*, vol.1, pp.133-4; *Bughyatu 'l-wu‘ãt*, vol.1, p.70; *Hadiyyatu 'l-‘ãrifīn*, vol.2, p.50; *al-A‘lãm*, vol.6, p.298; *Mu‘jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.9, p.157.]

§138. Muḥammad ibn Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Awn, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Asadī al-Kūfī, subsequently **ar-Rãzī (d. 312/924):** an-Najãshī says: "He was trustworthy, and correct in *ḥadīth*, except that he used to accept predestination and anthropomorphization. He has a book called *Kitãbu 'l-Jabr wa 'l-istiṭã‘ah* (Book on Predestination and Humany Capacity for Action)", and Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī calls it: *ar-Radd ‘alã ahli 'l-istiṭã‘ah* (Refutation of the believers in Human Capacity for Action); but as-Sayyid Abu 'l-Qãsim al-Khū’ī defends him and rejects this accusation.
[an-Najãshī, p.289; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.179; *Ma‘ãlimu 'l-‘ulamã’*, p.95; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, pp.177-8; Ibn Dãwūd, p.502; al-‘Allãmah, p.160; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.298; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.86; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.2, pp.95-96; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.15, pp.184-8; *Ṭabaqãt a‘lãmi 'sh-Shī‘ah*, 4th cent., p.258; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.5, 83.]

§139. Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Rustam, Abū Ja‘far aṭ-Ṭabarī al-Ãmulī al-Kabīr (4th/10th cent.): He was someone other than the non-Shī‘ī commentator of the Qur’ãn and historian, Ibn Jarīr; they differed in their grandfather's name although they were contemporaries.

an-Najãshī says: "He was revered among our co-sectarians, had much knowledge, was excellent in *kalãm* and trustworthy in (the narration of) *ḥadīth*." ash-Shaykh Muntajabu 'd-Dīn Ibn Bãbawayh says in *Tãrīkhu 'r-Rayy*, and Ibn Ḥajar quotes him: "He was one of the most outstanding *mutakallim*s."

‘Umar Riḍã Kaḥḥãlah wrote his biography in *Mu‘jamu 'l-muallifīn*, and dated his birth and death at 226/841 and 310/923 respectively, but I could not find these dates in any sources, either those he mentioned or those he did not; these are the dates of the non-Shī‘ī. Ibn Jarīr, and I suppose he confused them.

Among the works ascribed to Ibn Jarīr are:-

1. *al-Mustarshid fi 'l-imãmah* (Guidance Concerning the Imãmate);
2. *al-Īḍãḥ fi 'l-imãmah* (The Elucidation of the Imãmate); and
3. *al-Fãḍiḥ* (The Disgrace).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.187; *ar-Rijãl*, p.514; an-Najãshī, p.29; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.95; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, p.173; Ibn Dãwūd, p.301; al-'Allãmah, p.161; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.296; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, pt.2, p.91; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.15, pp.164-5; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.7, pp.293-5; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.1, p.243; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.250-3; also see: 5th cent., pp.153-7; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, pp.489-90; vol.8, pp.241-7; vol.21, pp.9-10; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.44, pp.139-40; *Mīzãn 'l-i'tidãl*, vol.3, p.499; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.5, p.103; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.9, pp.146-7.]

§140. Muḥammad ibn Khalaf, Abū Bakr ar-Rãzī: an-Najãshī says: "An outstanding *mutakallim* from among our co-sectarians. He has a book on the Imãmate."
[an-Najãshī, p.296; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, p.208; Ibn Dãwūd, p.310; al-'Allãmah, p.161; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.355; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.111; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.114; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, p.84; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.379.]

§141. Muḥammad ibn al-Khalīl, Abū Ja'far as-Sakkãk al-Baghdãdī: He was a companion and pupil of Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam. "He differed from him in several matters, but not in the principle of the Imãmate" as ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī and (Ibn) an-Nadīm said. "He was a *mutakallim* who was proficient and well-versed in the art of *kalãm*", and when Yūnus ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn (see §165) died "not a single person succeeded (him) except as-Sakkãk" according to al-Faḍl ibn Shãdhãn. (al-Kishshī, p.539; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, p.24; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.13, p.317; vol.16, p.84; vol.19, p.353; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.115.)

al-Ash'arī, ash-Shahrastãnī and others count him as one of the Imãmiyyah *mutakallims* and one of the authors of their books. Several books are mentioned as being his, including *Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd* (Book of Divine Unity). an-Najãshī said of this book: "It is (to do with) anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*), and criticism of it was written (by Shī'ī scholars)," but some scholars have disagreed with this saying of an-Najãshī.
[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.158; an-Najãshī, p.252; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.85; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.225; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, pp.208-9; Ibn Dãwūd, p.310; al-'Allãmah, p.144; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.305-6; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, pp.111-2; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.115; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah lī 'ulmi 'l-Islãm*, p.362; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, p.84; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, pp.334-5; vol.4, p.481; al-Ash'arī, *Maqãlãtu 'l-Islãmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.127; ash-Shahrastãnī, *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, p.190]

§142. Muḥammad ibn Mas'ūd, Abu 'n-Naḍr al-'Ayyãshī as-Sulamī as-Samarqandī (d. *c*.320/932): One of the most learned Imãmī scholars of his time. He was not in the beginning a Shī'ī, but he became Shī'ī and accepted the Imãmate. ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He is the greatest among the people of the East (Khurãsãn and Transoxania) in knowledge, erudition, letters, and understanding and he is the most noble of his time." an-Najãshī and al-'Allãmah say: "He is truthful and veracious, a notable person among the notables of this sect and a great man in it." (Ibn) an-Nadīm says: "He is an Imãmī Shī'ī jurist, unique in his era and time in the abundance of (his) knowledge, and his books hold a very high position throughout Khurãsãn."

He wrote more than two hundred books among which are the following related to our subject: *Kitãbu 't-Tawḥīd wa 'ṣ-ṣifah* (Book on Divine Unity and Attributes), *Kitãbu 'l-Badã'* (Book on *Badã'*) aand *Kitãbu 'l-'Īmãn* (Book on Faith).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijãl*, p.497; *al-Fihrist*, pp.163-4; an-Najãshī, pp.270-3; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, pp.244-6; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, pp.88-89; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, pp.41-46; Ibn Dãwūd, p.335; al-'Allãmah, p.145; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.333; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, pp.192-3; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.183; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, pp.664-5; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, pp.252-8; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.305-6; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.510; vol.3, p.56; vol.4, p.482; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.6, pp.129-30; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.2, pp.490-1; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.2, pp.32-33; *al-A'lãm*, vol.7, p.316; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.12, p.20.]

§143. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Buṣrawī al-Baghdãdī (d. 433/1051): He was a *mutakallim*, a *faqīh*, a learned man, and a gifted poet. Ibnu 'l-Jawzī and Ibn Kathīr both say: "He was a *mutakallim*." He studied under ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã; he compiled a list of his master's writings and sought, and obtained his permission to publish it in 417/1026. as-Sam'ãnī and Yãqūt both say: "He learnt *kalãm* from al-Murtaḍã and remained with him for a long time." He wrote *Kitãbu 'l-Mufīd fi 'l-taklīf* (The Beneficial Book on Duty [towards God]).

[*Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.235-6, 298-9; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.14, p.328; vol.17, p.210; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, p.380; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.183; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.21, pp.373-4; *Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.3, p.236; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.152; *al-Ansãb*, vol.2, pp.252-3; *al-Lubãb*, vol.1, p.158; *Fawãtu 'l-wafayãt*, vol.3, p.262; *al-Wãfī bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.1, p.120; *an-Nujūmu 'z-zãhirah*, vol.5, p.52; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.63; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.9, pp.580-

1; *Mu‘jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.1, pp.441-2; *Mu‘jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.11, p.181.]

§144. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn an-Nu‘mãn, ash-Shaykh Abū ‘Abdillãh al-Mufīd Ibnu 'l-Mu‘allim al-‘Ukbarī al-Baghdãdī (336/948 or 338/950–413/1022):

1) A Short Biography:

His student, Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah, Abū Ja‘far aṭ-Ṭūsī (see §126) says of him: "The leading position among the Imãmiyyah of his time finally settled with him. He was in the first position in the science and practise of *kalãm,* and he was a *faqīh*, being foremost in that science; he had a most superior mind, was meticulously astute and quick to give his answer . . ." (*al-Fihrist*, p.186; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, p.33). Another student of his, an-Najãshī (see §22) said: "His excellence in *fiqh*, *kalãm*, *ḥadīth*, as a reliable authority, and in knowledge in a general sense is too renowned to need description" (*Fihrist*, p.311, *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, p.34). al-‘Allãmah al-Ḥillī, one of the most famous persons in the Imãmiyyah tradition and one of their most eminante scholars (648/1250–726/1325) said: "One of the greatest *shaykh*s of the Shī‘ah, their leader and their teacher, and all who come after him learn from him. His excellence in *fiqh*, *kalãm*, and *ḥadīth* is too renowned to need description; he was the most reliable authority of his time, the most knowledgeable among the (people of his time). The leading position among the Imãmiyyah of his time finally settled with him. He had a most superior mind, was meticulously astute, and quick to give his answer . . ." (*Khulãṣatu 'l-aqwãl*, p.147). All his Imãmī biographers concur with this.

Those who were not of his sect and his ideas, give his biography thus:

* "(He was) the *shaykh* of the *shaykh*s of the sect, the tongue of the Imãmiyyah, the leader in *kalãm*, *fiqh* and rhetoric" (adh-Dhahabī, *al-‘Ibar*, vol.3, p.114).

* "The *shaykh* of the Imãmiyyah, the best of their writers, the defender of what is in their possession" (Ibnu 'l-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.12; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.5; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *an-Nujūmu 'z-zãhirah*, vol.4, p.258; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.1, p.424).

* "The *faqīh* of the Imãmiyyah" (Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.9, p.329; Abu 'l-Fidã’, vol.2, p.154; Ibnu 'l-Wardī, vol.1, p.507).

* "He was unique in his time in his sciences" (aṣ-Ṣafadī, *al-Wãfi bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.1, p.116).

* (Ibn) an-Nadīm, in the place where he enumerates the Imãmī *mutakallim*s, says of him: "In our time, the leadership of the Shī‘ī *mutakalim*s has fallen on him; he is the principal scholar in the practice of *kalãm* in the schools of

thought of his co-sectarians, with a meticulous astuteness, a penetrating intellect; I have observed him and seen that he is brilliant" (*al-Fihrist*, p.226); and he says in the place where he counts the Shī‘ī *faqīh*s: "On him finally settled the leading position among his fellow Imãmī Shī‘ah in *fiqh*, *kalãm* and traditions" (*ibid.*, p.247).

* "And he gave away much charity, was extremely humble, frequently in prayer and fasting, and neatly dressed" (al-Yãfi‘ī, *Mir'ãtu 'l-jinãn*, vol.3, p.28; adh-Dhahabī, *Mukhtaṣar duwali 'l-Islãm*, vol.1, p.246; *al-‘Ibar*, vol.3, p.114; Ibn ‘Abdi 'l-Ḥayy, *Shadharãtu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.200).

* "He led an extremely simple way of life (*kathīru 't-taqashshuf*) was exceedingly humble, and was much devoted to knowledge; many were educated by him. He distinguished himself in Imãmī doctrine, it even being said that the good-will towards all the Imãmī's was due to him" (Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.5, p.368).

* "He never used to sleep during the night, except when he nodded off (*haj‘ah*), then he would stand up to pray, or read, or study, or read the Qur'ãn out loud" (*ibid.*, p.368).

* "He was brilliant in *kalãm*, in dialectics, and in *fiqh*; he would confront people of every persuasion, and he had position and great respect in the Būyid state" (adh-Dhahabī, *al-‘ibar*, vol.3, p.114; al-Yãfi‘ī, *Mir'ãtu 'l-jinnan*, vol.3, p28; Ibn ‘Abdi 'l-Ḥayy, *Shadharãtu 'dh-dhahab,* vol.3, pp.199-200).

* "He was eloquent, good in dialectics, steadfast against an adversary; he had an argument for every occasion maintained secrecy, and his behaviour was attractive" (Abū Ḥayyãn at-Tawḥīdī – his contemporary – *al-Imtã‘ wa 'l-mu'ãnasah*, vol.1, p.141).

* "He had prestige before the rulers of the various regions, owing to the inclination of the people of that time towards Shī‘ism. He held sessions of philosophical speculation at his home in Darb Riyãḥ,[23] a quarter in the west of Baghdad which practically all the *‘ulamã'* from the other sects attended" (Ibnu 'l-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.12; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.15; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *an-Nujūmu 'z-zãhirah*, vol.4, p.258).

* "He held great respect and position in the state of ‘Aḍudu 'd-Dawlah (ad-Daylamī [324/936–372/983])" (adh-Dhahabī, *Mīzãnu 'l-i‘tidãl*, vol.4, p.26; *Mukhtaṣar duwali 'l-Islãm*, vol.1, p.246; *al-‘Ibar*, vol.3, p.114).

* "He had great power and influence on account of ‘Aḍudu 'd-Dawlah" (adh-Dhahabī, *Mīzãnu 'l-i‘tidãl*, vol.4, p.30; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.5, p.368).

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[23]ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd had a mosque in this quarter where he led the prayer, and where many of his dictations (*amãlī*) were delivered (see *al-Amãlī*, pp.85, 92, 211).

* "‘Aḍudu 'd-Dawlah would pay visits to his home and come to see him if he were ill" (adh-Dhahabī, *Mukhtaṣar duwali 'l-Islãm*, vol.1, p.246; *al-‘Ibar*, vol.3, p.114; al-Yãfi‘, *Mir'ãtu 'l-jinãn*, vol.3, p.28; Ibn ‘Abdi 'l-Ḥayy, *Shadharãtu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.200).
* "When he died, eighty thousand Rãfiḍites escorted him to his burial place", and, adh-Dhahahbī adds: "May Allãh not bless them", and he and al-Yãfi‘ī and Ibn ‘Abdi 'l-Ḥayy add: "Allãh has freed (the people) of him" (adh-Dhahabī, *Mīzãnu 'l-i‘tidãl*, vol.4, p.30; *Mukhtaṣar duwali 'l-Islãm*, vol.1, p.246; *al-‘Ibar*, vol.3, p.115; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.5, p.368; al-Yãfi‘, *Mir'ãtu 'l-jinãn*, vol.3, p.28; Ibn ‘Abdi 'l-Ḥayy, *Shadharãt 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.200).
* "His funeral procession was well attended" (adh-Dhahabī, *al-‘Ibar*, vol.3, p.115; al-Yãfi‘ī, *Mir'ãtu 'l-jinãn*, vol.3, p.28; Ibn ‘Abdi 'l-Ḥayy, *Shadharãtu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.200).

Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī says of his funeral cortège and burial: A greater day than the day of his death has not been seen in terms of the multitude of people who attended the prayer for him, and the multitude of those who wept, both those who had opposed him and those who had supported him" (*al-Fihrist*, p.187). an-Najãshī says: "That day ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã . . . led the prayer for him in the Maydãnu 'l-‘Ushnãn (one of the biggest open places in Baghdãd at that time),[24] and it was too confined for the people despite its size" (*al-Fihrist*, p.316).

Now, as an exposition of what his enemies knew of him, let us be content to report what Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Thãbit, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdãdī al-Ash‘arī ash-Shãfi‘ī (392/1002–463/1076), said of him: "(He was) the *shaykh* of the Rãfiḍites and the (leading) *mutakallim* in accordance with their sect. He wrote a great many books on their misguided ideas and defended what they believed and what they said and wrote. He discredited the ones who came before who were companions and successors to the companions (of the Prophet) (*aṣ-ṣaḥãbah wa 't-tãbi‘īn*) (i.e., those of them who turned away from the *Ahlu 'l-Bayt*, peace be upon them, and those who followed their enemies, the Umayyids) the majority of the *faqīh*s and *mujtahid*s. He was one of the Imãms of misguidance (*aimmatu 'ḍ-ḍalãl*), a great number of people perished because of him, till Allãh rid the Muslims of him" (*Tãrīkh*

[24]To indicate the extent of this *maydãn*, al-Baghawī said: "Luwayn [Muḥammad ibn Sulaymãn ibn Ḥabīb Abū Ja‘far al-Baghdãdī (*c.*127/746–246/860), the famous scholar of *ḥadīth*] came to Baghdad [from Kūfah], and 100,000 people attended his session [in *ḥadīth*]; this number was assayed for this meeting in the Maydãn al-‘Ushnãn." (*Siyar a‘lãmi 'n-nubalã'*, vol.11, pp.501-2)

Baghdãd, vol.3, p.231; and the echo of these words of al-Khaṭīb is repeated in each of the following: adh-Dhahabī, *Mīzãnu 'l-i'tidal*, vol.4, pp.26, 30; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.5, p.268; aṣ-Ṣafadī, *al-Wãfi bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.1, p.116; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *an-Nujūmu 'z-zãhirah*, vol.4, p.258).

This is what his contemporary, 'Ubaydullãh ibn 'Abdillãh ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abu 'l-Qãsim al-Ḥaffãf, famous as Ibnu 'n-Naqīb (305/917-8–415/1024), did, according to al-Khaṭīb and others: "He (Ibnu 'n-Naqīb) was a confirmed Sunnī and it reached us that he held a meeting for (others to offer him) congratulations when Ibnu 'l-Mu'allim, the *shaykh* of the Rãfiḍites died, and said: 'What worries do I have now about when I die, after I have witnessed the death of Ibnu 'l-Mu'allim.'" (al-Khaṭīb, *Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.10, p.282; Ibnu 'l-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.18; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.18; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *an-Nujūmu 'z-zãhirah*, vol.4, p.261, who adds: "I said: 'That which proves his [Ibnu 'n-Naqīb's] religion and the correctness of his beliefs is his hatred of the Shī'ah, may ignominy be upon them. If there were no other good acts of his than this, it would suffice him before Allãh.'")

As far as a description of the standing of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd and his position in his own time, it is enough to point out that when the heads of the sects and groups are enumerated during the time of the caliph al-Qãdir, the 'Abbãsid, one of the last of the line of their caliphs, (336/947 – became caliph 381/991–422/1031), who governed the state in his time, we find enumerated ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd, head of the Imãmiyyah, ash-Shaykh Abū Isḥãq Ibrãhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Asfarã'īnī al-Ash'arī ash-Shãfi'ī (d. 418/ 1027), head of the Ash'arites, al-Qãḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbãr al-Hamadãnī al-Mu'tazilī (320/932–415/1025), head of the Mu'tazilites, and Abū Muḥammad ibn al-Hayṣam an-Nãwī an-Naysãbūrī (d. 409/1019), head of the Karrãmites (aṣ-Ṣafadī, *al-Wãfi bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.5, p.171; ; Ibn 'Abdi 'l-Ḥayy, *Shadharãt 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.222; al-'Isãmī, *Samṭu 'n-nujūmi 'l-'awãlī*, vol.3, pp.366-7; as-Suyūṭī, *Tãrīkhu 'l-khulafã'*, p.416).

2) His Teachers in *Kalãm* Alone:

al-Mufīd's teachers are listed here, together with those from whom he narrated *ḥadīth*. They come to fifty in *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, pp.520-1; fifty-nine in the introduction to *Biḥãru 'l-anwãr*, vol.1, pp.74-77; and sixty-one in the introduction to *Tahdhību 'l-aḥkãm*, vol.1, pp.11-14. But those under whom the science of *kalãm* was studied were:

1. Abū Yãsir Tãḥir, the Imãmī *mutakallim*, student of Abu 'l-Jaysh al-Khurãsãnī (see § 149). "Our Shaykh, Abū 'Abdillãh, began his studies with him." (Refer to what has been mentioned in § 149, and under 3 and 4 below.)

They used to study under him in his house at the Khurãsãn Gate (Bãb Khurãsãn) (originally it was the eastern [or N.E.] gate of the circular city of al-Manṣūr, then it became one of the localities on the western side of Baghdad – *Mu'jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.1, p.459; *Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.1, pp.72, 74; *ar-Rawḍu 'l-mi'tãr*, pp.111, 529).

Ibn Idrīs and Warrãm mention that after al-Mufīd moved (with his father) from 'Ukbarã to Baghdãd "he studied recitation of the Qur'ãn with Shaykh Abū 'Abdillãh, famous as al-Ju'al [the third of his *kalãm* teachers, although this would appear to be incorrect]. Then he studied after him with Abū Yãsir, the *ghulãm* of Abu 'l-Jaysh[25] at Bãb al-Khurãsãn."[26]

2. al-Muẓaffar ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, Abu 'l-Jaysh al-Balkhī al-Khurãsãnī, subsequently al-Baghdãdī, the Imãmī *mutakallim* (d. 367/977-8). (See § 149), the student of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī (see § 96) and the teacher of Abū Yãsir (see the references under § 19).

McDermott mentions another teacher of al-Mufīd, an-Nãshi' al-Aṣghar,[27] and thereby establishes another link with the *kalãm* of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī. However, this seems dubious, for aṭ-Ṭūsī says in his biography of an-Nãshi': "The Shaykh al-Mufīd, may Allãh have mercy on him, narrated to us from him", using the phrase "*akhbara-nã 'an-hu*", which is used for *ḥadīth* and not for *kalãm*. He also mentions a work by an-Nãshi', of which an-Najãshī gives more details as being a book on the Imãmate.[28] There, therefore seems to be evidence for only two Imãmī *kalãm* teachers that al-Mufīd had: Abū Yãsir and Abu 'l-Jaysh.

ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd often related *ḥadīth* from him, which shows that he also studied traditions with him (al-Mufīd, *al-Amãlī*, pp.18, 19, 175, 190, 202, 215, 218; *al-Irshãd*, pp.39, 40-41; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Amãlī*, vol.1, pp.62, 76, 93, 97, 120, 125, 132, 166, 234, 239, 243-4, 251).

3. al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Ibrãhīm, Abū 'Abdillãh al-Baṣrī, subsequently al-Baghdãdī, al-Mu'tazilī al-Ḥanafī, famous as Ju'al (293/906–369/980). He was a distinguished Mu'tazilī, and was of the first rank in the sciences of

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[25] In the lithograph edition of *as-Sarãir*. Abu 'l-Ḥasan; likewise in *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, narrating from the *Sarãir*, in the Qum edition: Abu 'l-Ḥaysh. Both of these are copyists' errors, the correct being Abu 'l-Jaysh. From this it can be concluded that this Abū Yãsir was the student of Abu 'l-Jaysh whose biography is given above [107], about whom it was said: "It was with him, to begin with, that our *shaykh*, Abū 'Abdillãh [al-Mufīd] studied."

[26] *as-Sarãir*, litho., p.493, Qum, Muassasat an-Nashr al-Islãmī, ed., III, 648; *Majmu'at Warrãm*, II, 302; and further references to follow.

[27] See above §33.

[28] aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.115-6; an-Najãshī, p.271 [=809].

kalãm and *fiqh*.

It is mentioned that: "ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd came down, when he was a child, with his father from his birth-place, ‘Ukbarã (a small town on the shore of the Tigris near Dujayl, and Dujayl is still there in Iraq with the same name – it is ten farsangs from Baghdad – *Mu‘jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.4, p.142; *al-Ansãb*, vol.9, p.345; *Marãṣidu 'l-iṭṭilã‘*, vol.2, p.953). He came to Baghdad, and engaged himself in study under Abū ‘Abdillãh al-Baṣrī in his house in the street called Riyãh (one of the streets in al-Karkh in the western part of Baghdad, *al-Ansãb*, vol.6, p.209)." (See *as-Sarãir*, litho., p.493, Qum ed., III, p.648; *Majmu‘at warrãm*, vol.2, p.302; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.6, pp.159, 160; *Rijãl Baḥru 'l-‘Ulūm*, vol.3, pp.314, 315; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.180; *Safīnatu 'l-biḥãr*, vol.2, p.390; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, p.232; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, p.519; *Lu'luatu 'l-baḥrayn*, p.359.)

It can be seen that what is here related does not tell us whether ash-Shaykh al-Mufid studied under Abū ‘Abdillãh al-Baṣrī before he was a student under Abū Yãsir, but it suggests that it was before he studied under his teacher ar-Rummãnī, who is mentioned next, for what is really unlikely is that al-Mufīd, an Imãmī who was under the watchful eye of his Imãmī father, would start to study the science of *kalãm* with a non-Imãmī *mutakallim*. However, in some versions of this episode, we are told: "He engaged himself in study under ash-Shaykh Abū ‘Abdillãh, famous as al-Ju‘al, then under Abū Yãsir, but Abū Yãsir was sometimes too weak to talk with him, and could not maintain his responsibility, so he advised him to leave and go to ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsã ar-Rummãnī, who was one of the greatest scholars of *kalãm* . . .", but the evidence given by the scholars of biography (*‘ulamãu 'r-rijãl*) corrects this mistake of the narrator, to say that ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd studied first, as far as he did study, with Abū Yãsir.

4. ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsã ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abdillãh, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ar-Rummãnī al-Baghdãdī al-Mu‘tazilī (296/908–384/994), was a *mutakallim*, commentator of the Qur'ãn, man of letters, and expert in the sciences of philology and grammar.

It would seem that his teacher Abū Yãsir who guided him to study the science of *kalãm* under ar-Rummãnī, and this was after he studied under Abū ‘Abdillãh al-Baṣrī. He therefore went to study with him, and it was this man who gave him the name "al-Mufīd" (the Beneficial, or Instructive), as the result of a dispute that arose between the teacher and the pupil (*as-Sarãir*, litho., pp.493-4, Qum ed., III, pp.648-9; *Majmū‘at warrãm*, vol.2, pp.302-3; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.6, pp.160-1; *Rijãl Baḥru 'l-‘Ulūm*, vol.3, pp.314-5;

Safīnatu 'l-biḥãr, vol.2, p.390; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.180; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, pp.232-3; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, pp.519-20; *Lu'luatu 'l-baḥrayn*, pp.359-61).

Ibn Ḥajar says in his biography of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī (237/851–311/923) (see §96): "Abū 'Abdillãh ibn an-Nu'mãn, famous as al-Mufīd, the *shaykh* of the Shī'ah in his time, studied with him" (*Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.1, p.424). This is, without doubt, a mistake, because al-Mufīd, who was born in 336/948 or 338/950, would never have seen Abū Sahl. Rather, he was the teacher of the teacher of al-Mufīd, who was Abu 'l-Jaysh al-Khurãsãnī, who studied under Abū Sahl, and under whom al-Mufīd studied.

3) The Legacy of al-Mufīd's Study with his Two Mu'tazilī Teachers:

The first of them was Abū 'Abdillãh al-Baṣrī, al-Baghdãdī al-Ḥanafī, al-Ju'al al-Kãghadī [(2) 3]. He studied first with Abū 'Alī ibn Khallãd, one of the leading companions of Abū Hãshim al-Jubbã'ī, then with Abū Hãshim himself, with whom he completed his studies in *kalãm*.[29] The Qãḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbãr was one of Abū 'Abdillãh's students, having first studied with Abū Isḥãq ibn 'Ayyãsh in Baṣrah before moving to Baghdad, where he studied with Abū 'Abdillãh for an extended period.[30] Thus, al-Mufīd shared one teacher with the Qãḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbãr. No evidence has been found that they met or that they were acquainted with each other's ideas, but there is a strong possibility that they would have met in the classes of Abū 'Abdillãh, for if the Qãḍī studied with him, say for ten years after 356/967, al-Mufīd would have been either 18 or 20 years old at the beginning of that period, which is the most likely time at which he would have begun studying with Abū 'Abdillãh al-Baṣrī.[31]

Abū 'Abdillãh al-Baṣrī followed the Baṣran school of Mu'tazilism, except that he did not hold their particular views concerning Amīr al-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him. Ibn al-Murtaḍã az-Zaydī said: "He inclined strongly towards 'Alī, peace be upon him, and wrote *Kitãbu 't-Tafḍīl* (i.e., on the pre-excellence of Amīr al-Mu'minīn above all men except the Prophet),

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[29] [Ibn] an-Nadīm, section on the Mu'tazilī, p.222; *Aṣḥãn Abī Ḥanīfah*, p.261, *Faḍl al-i'tizãl*, pp.325-8; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, pp.189-90; see further: *Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.8, pp.73-74; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, p.101; *al-Wãfī bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.13, p.17; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, p.303; *Ṭabaqãtu 'l-mufassirīn*, vol.1, pp.155-6.

[30] *Faḍlu 'l-i'tizãl*, pp.365, 366; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, pp.190-1, 194; according to the biography in beginning of the *Faḍlu 'l-i'tizãl*, the Qãḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbãr left Baghdad again in 366/976.

[31] This would seem to be one of the reasons which led McDermott to compare the ideas of al-Mufīd and the Qaḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbãr in his *The Theology of al-Shaykh al-Mufīd*.

in which he wrote exceedingly well."[32] It seems legitimate to ask the question as to why Abū ‘Abdillãh should have differed from his Baṣran colleagues on this matter. Could it have been that the intellectual environment in Baghdad had some effect on him? Again, if the Shaykh al-Mufīd studied with Abū ‘Abdillãh al-Baṣrī, and was most likely in the same class as the Qãḍī ‘Abdu 'l-Jabbãr and was at least aware of his opinions, why should he have held opinions which were different from those of both of them?

The second of al-Mufīd's teachers was ar-Rummãnī, who was one of the companions of Ibn al-Ikhshīdh.[33] The father of Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Bayghajūr, Abū Bakr ibn al-Ikhshãdh/Ikhshīdh al-Baghdãdī ash-Shãfi‘ī (270/883–326/938) had Turkish ancestors, and became governor of the border regions, according to Ibn Ḥazm. Ibn al-Ikhshīdh was a leading Mu‘tazilī, renowned for his good works and piety. He lived in Sūq al-‘Aṭash in Baghdad in the Darb al-Ikhshãdh. He was an expert in *fiqh* and Arabic, and wrote works on *kalãm* and *fiqh*, seven of which [Ibn] an-Nadīm mentions. In his opinions he opposed al-Ka‘bī, Abū ‘Alī al-Jubbã’ī, and the latter's son Abū Hãshim, and his followers were known as the Ikhshīdhiyyah. He was taught in *kalãm* by Abū ‘Abdillãh Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar as-Saymarī al-Baṣrī.[34] Despite this he was an opponent of the Baṣran School, and his students followed him in this. The Mu‘tazilah said of him that he was strongly opposed to Abū Hãshim al-Jubbã’ī. al-Balkhī [al-Ka‘bī] said: "I went to him to learn his way in [*kalãm*], and he transgressed every limit in his strong opposition [to Abū Hãshim al-Jubbã’ī and his father], and I never went back to him."[35]

These two Mu‘tazilī teachers of the Shaykh al-Mufīd thus represented two different schools of thought within Mu‘tazilism, disagreeing with each other on many points. When al-Mufīd went from his first teacher, Abū ‘Abdillãh, to the second, ar-Rummãnī, this represented not merely a change of teaching for him, but acquaintance with a new way of thinking. He found that that his first teacher was unable to answer the questions to which he sought the answers, and in moving to his second teacher he found someone who was able to satisfy his strong intellectual curiosity. It is this, which the

[32] *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.190.

[33] [Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.221; *Faḍlu 'l-i‘tizãl*, p.333; *Mu‘jamu 'l-udabã’*, vol.5, p.281.

[34] *Faḍlu 'l-i‘tizãl*, pp.308-9, 331-3; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.185-6, 191; [Ibn] an-Nadīm, pp.220-1; *Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.4, p.309; *Siyar a‘lãmi 'n-nubalã’*, vol.15, pp.217-8; *Tãrīkhu 'l-Islãm*, years 321-30, pp.186-7; *al-Wãfī bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.7, p.216; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.1, p.213; *EI*, vol.3, p.807.

[35] *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.193.

narrations from Ibn Idrīs and Warrãm tell us: that this teacher prior to ar-Rummãnī was unable to debate with him and to find the answers, and told him to go to ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsã ar-Rummãnī, who was one of the greatest *mutakallim*s of his time (although it would seem unlikely that Abū ‘Abdillãh would have told his student this, as will be explained below). This also tells us that Abū ‘Abdillãh al-Baṣrī had differences with his student which he was unable to resolve, and that he was unable to convince him of the correctness of the views of Mu‘tazilī school of Baṣrah. One of the consequences of this changes of teachers was that al-Mufīd turned against the school of Baṣrah, and in particular against the teachings of its two leading figures, who were the last who can properly be said to have represented the Baṣran school, Abū ‘Alī al-Jubbã’ī and his son Abū Hãshim.[36]

So, al-Mufīd found that his second teacher was more satisfactory to his purposes, and learnt new methods of proof from him, as well as acquainting himself with him many more opinions than had his first teacher. ar-Rummãnī was, incidentally far from the views of al-Ka‘bī, and this would rather seem to indicate that if there are common points in the doctrine of al-Mufīd and al-Ka‘bī these doctrines were common to all the Mu‘tazilīs and Imãmīs, not that al-Mufīd was here uniquely in agreement with al-Ka‘bī.

The conclusion that can be drawn from all of this is al-Mufīd began his studies with two Imãmī *mutakallim*s. Wishing to extend his knowledge he went first of all to Abū ‘Abdillãh al-Baṣrī. When he found that al-Baṣrī was unable to answer his questions, he went to his previous teacher Abū Yãsir who then advised him to go to ar-Rummãnī. This sems to be a much more likely conclusion than that it was Abū ‘Abdillãh al-Baṣrī who referred him, as Ibn Idrīs and Warrãm reported. Firstly, a teacher of the eminence of Abū ‘Abdillãh is unlikely to have confessed himself unable to answer his pupil and then refer him to another, rival *mutakallim*. Second, Abū Yãsir was al-Mufīd's first teacher, and therefore the one who he was now most likely to have the kind of friendly relationship, which would have allowed Abū Yãsir to continue benevolently guiding the career of his former pupil.

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[36]On his disagreements with the school of Baṣrah, see: *Awãilu 'l-maqãlãt*, pp.53f, 59ff, 88f, 91, 93, 98, 103, 109, 111, 113. It is said that there were three unreasonable things in *kalãm*, one of them being the dosctrine of states (*aḥwãl*) of the Bahshimiyyah, where he believed there were clear errors of, and contradictions in, reasoning; for this, see *al-Ḥikãyãt*, Qum, 1994, pp.45-46; *Awãilu 'l-maqãlãt*, pp.52, 56. On his disagreements with Abū ‘Alī al-Jubbã’ī, see *ibid.,* pp.61, 85, 96, 125; on his disagreements with Abū Hãshim al-Jubbã’ī, see *ibid.*, pp.86, 105; and on his disagreements with both of them, see *ibid.*, pp.92, 97, 100, 102-6, 129f.

'Alī ibn 'Īsã, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ar-Rummãnī al-Baghdãdī (296/909–384/994) was one of the foremost Mu'tazilīs of his time, a specialist in many sciences including *fiqh*, the Qur'ãn, Arabic grammar, the Arabic language and literature, logic, and *kalãm*. He wrote extensively in all the sciences, which he had mastered. He was known as one who was confirmed in his doctrines and his school, and was not to be moved in intellectual debates or sectarian disputes. From the report of an encounter between ar-Rummãnī and as-Sariyy ar-Rafã' (d. 362/973), it is also clear that he was not only firm in his convictions but also tried to bring people round to the Mu'tazilī way of thinking.[37] ar-Rummãnī also held a debate with an-Nãshi' al-Aṣghar (§33) in which he was defeated and was forced to remain silent.[38] With all of this he has been called a Rãfiḍī Mu'tazilī by adh-Dhahabī, Ibn Ḥajar, and others. al-Qiftī said: "Despite his Mu'tazilism he was a Shī'ī", and at-Tanūkhī, who was his pupil and narrated from him, said: "One of the Mu'tazila who held the opinion that 'Alī, peace be upon him, was the most excellent of people after the Messen-ger of Allãh, may the blessings and peace of Allãh be upon him and his Family, was Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Īsã an-Naḥwī, known as ar-Rummãnī al-Ikhshīdhī."[39] al-Qiftī mentioned among his *kalãm* works a book entitled *Kitãb tafḍīl 'Alī* (Book of the pre-excellence of 'Alī).[40] More important than this, Ibn Ḥajar said: "[Ibn] an-Nadīm mentioned in *al-Fihrist*: 'the writings which 'Alī ibn ar-Rummãnī wrote concerning Shī'ism were not his opinions; he only wrote them dissimulating (*taqiyyatan*) because of the widespread nature of Shī'ism in that time.'"[41] This is however in part of the *Fihrist*, which is now missing. This would seem to indicate that the influence of al-Mufīd on his teacher was as great as, if not greater, than that of his teacher on him. *Taqiyyah* (dissimulation) was not something generally used to the benefit of the Shī'ah, especially in those days in Baghdad, the city of teachers and pupils. In fact, al-Mufīd was known for his courage in not resorting to *taqiyyah*, and it would seem unlikely that ar-Rummãnī had to resort to *taqiyyah* in front of his students, but that he wrote what he did because he had changed his mind.

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[37] [Ibn] an-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, Tajaddud ed., p.218 (in the margin); *ibid.*, Cairo ed., p.256; *ibid.*, ed. Nahid 'Abbãs 'Uthmãn, Doha, 1985, p.326.

[38] *Mu'jamu 'l-udabã'*, vol.5, p.237; *al-Wãfī bi 'l-Wafayãt*, vol.11, p.204.

[39] *Mu'jamu 'l-udabã'*, vol.5, pp.280-1; *Tãrīkhu 'l-Islãm*, year 381–400, pp.82-83 (adh-Dhahabī added "*Li'llãh darru-h); Siyar a'lami 'n-nubalã'*, vol.16, p.534; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.4, p.248.

[40] *Inbãhu 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.296.

[41] *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.4, p.248.

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Ibn Abī Ṭayy, Yaḥyã ibn Ḥumaydah ibn Ẓãfir al-Ghasãnī al-Ḥalabī (575/1179–630/1233) wrote about al-Mufīd in his *Tãrīkhu 'l-Imãmiyyah*, and adh-Dhahabī gave an abbreviated report of his account. He said: "He was the *shaykh* of the *shaykh*s of [that] school (*ṭãifah*), the tongue of the Imãmiyyah, the leader in *kalãm*, *fiqh*, and dialectics. He was unique in all the branches of knowledge: the two *uṣūl*s [i.e., *'aqãid* and *fiqh*], *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, and the science of transmitters, the Qur'ãn, *tafsīr*, grammar, poetry, exceeding everyone in them. He would debate with the upholders of every belief, yet he held [the highest degree of] honour and respect with the Buyid state, and a high position with the 'Abbãsid caliphs.

"He was a strong-minded person, who did many good and charitable works, most humble [in his worship], much given to prayer and fasting, and he wore coarse claosing. He distinguished himself in learning and in teaching, continuously applying himself to study and thought; he had one of the best memories.

"[Ibn Abī Ṭayy] said: 'My teacher Ibn Shahrãshūb Rashīdu 'd-Dīn al-Mãzandarãnī reported to me that a number of those who had seen [al-Mufīd] had reported to him: "The Shaykh al-Mufīd would never put away a book by [his] opponents without having memorized it and discussed it [with his students], so that he was able to answer the questions people posed to him in debate." He used to say to his pupils: "Never give up with knowledge. For difficult [matters] always end up by becoming easy. [Knowledge] which stubbornly refuses [to go forward] always ends up by being compliant. Many times I go and sit with a *shaykh* of the Ḥashwiyyah, or the Jabriyyah, or the Qadariyyah, and make myself humble before him, until I have learnt a *mas'alah* from him or heard [a *ḥadīth*] from him." Another said: "al-Mufīd was the most eager of people to teach. He would go round the primary schools (*maktab*s) and weavers' shop looking for intelligent youths. Then he would go to [discuss their education] with their fathers or mothers until he had taken them on and was teaching them. In this way he had many pupils." Another said: "al-Mufīd held an exalted position with the powers [of his time], and 'Aḍudu 'd-Dawlah would often visit him, and look after his needs. He would say to [al-Mufīd]: 'Intercede [for people] and your intercession will be accepted.'" [al-Mufīd] would provide for his pupils everything, which they needed. The Shaykh al-Mufīd had a well-proportioned, thin body, and was brown-skinned. Whenever he found himself unable to answer a question he would seek refuge in prayer, asking Allãh to make the answer

easy for him . . .'"[42]

4) al-Mufīd, the *Mutakallim* and Speculative Thinker:

ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd lived at a time, which kindly tolerated all kinds of sects and groups, those concerned with *kalãm*, and those concerned with *fiqh*. In an environment such as that of Baghdad, where different *'ulamã'* and thinkers came together, and the investigation of subjects, views, controversies, ideas and opinions, was still alive, debate was not suppressed by the supremacy of a particular sect over other sects or opinions, although such an absolute victory did happen in Baghdad subsequent to al-Mufīd's time.

Now, al-Mufīd was, as we said previously in our portrait of him, outstanding in *kalãm* and dialectics, meticulously astute, gifted with a penetrating mind, quick to give answer, a *faqīh*, and a debater who took on people of every belief. He held sessions of philosophical speculation at his home which practically all the *'ulamã'* of the other sects would attend, and what enabled him to do this was the position and respect which came to him in the Būyid state, and the prestige and acceptance he was given by the kings of the various regions, owing to the inclination of the people of that time towards Shī'ism.

However, the references that have come down to us – and how few they are, including the collection of writings of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd, and we shall mention those of them which refer to *kalãm*, dialectics and philosophical speculation – do not reflect this phenomenon except in an extremely limited way. The most important points of all we have come across are to be found in what is mentioned in *al-Fuṣūlu 'l-mukhtãrah mina 'l-'uyūn wa 'l-maḥãsin* (selected parts from [the book] *al-'Uyūn wa 'l-maḥãsin*) written by ash-Sharīf al-Murtḍã, which we shall describe when we mention the books of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd. All the controversies and debates whose venues I will now mention took place outside the home of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd, in which he continually held philosophical sessions. And this is why I have to say, with much regret, that the following list does not reflect the reality, except within the narrowest limits.

a) The Mu'tazilites:

1. Those of them who were anonymous:

"Some *mutakallim*s of the Mu'tazilah . . ." (*al-Ifṣãh*: see *'Iddat rasãil*, p.68).

"Men from the Mu'tazilah . . ." (*'Iddat rasãil*, pp.195-9).

"A *shaykh* from the Mu'tazilah . . ." (*al-Fuṣūlu 'l-mukhtãrah*, vol.1, p.51).

A *shaykh* from the skillful ones among the Mu'tazilah and those of them who believed in their ideas . . ." (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.76).

[42] *Tãrīkhu 'l-Islãm*, year 401-20, pp.333-4; *Siyar a'lãmi 'n-nubalã'*, vol.17, pp.344-5.

"A group of the *mutakallim*s of the Mu‘tazilah . . ." (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.86).

"I was present [as ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd himself says] at a meeting of a group of the leaders (of government) and among them was a *shaykh* from Rayy from those of the Mu‘tazilī persuasion. They were extolling him on account of his ancestors and his connection with the government." (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.97).

"Some of the Mu‘tazilah were in a meeting at which there was a great gathering of speculative thinkers and experts on *fiqh* . . ." (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.115).

"Some of the Mu‘tazilah . . ." (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.2, p.157).

2. al-Qãḍī ‘Abdu 'l-Jabbãr ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdi 'l-Jabbãr al-Asadãbãdī al-Hamadãnī al-Mu‘tazilī ash-Shãfi‘ī (320/932–415/1025), one of the most prominent of the Mu‘tazilah, and one of their leaders. "The debate became famous and it came to the knowledge of ‘Aḍudu 'd-Dawlah ad-Daylamī. So, he sent for the *shaykh* and had him brought and asked him what had been happening. He told him how it had happened. So, he bestowed on him a splendid robe of honour and had given him for his service a horse embellished with beautiful trappings, and a stipend which came to him every year." (*Majãlisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, pp.464-5; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.6, p.159; *Rijãl Baḥru 'l-‘Ulūm*, vol.3, pp.315-6; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.180; *Safīnatu 'l-biḥãr*, vol.2, p.390; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, p.233; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, p.520; *Lu'luatu 'l-baḥrayn*, pp.361-2.)

3. al-Qãḍī Abū Muḥammad al-‘Umãnī al-Mu‘tazilī (‘Abdu 'r-Raḥmãn ibn Muḥammad [d. 386/996].)

He was in charge of law administration in al-Karkh quarter. He was patient and perspicacious (*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.10, p.300). A debate with this man took place "in the session of the *naqīb* (see § 132), Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-‘Umarī,[43] may Allãh make his fame continue, and there were many people

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[43] Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-‘Umarī was ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Isḥãq, descended from ‘Umar, the son of Amīr al-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him. When ‘Aḍudu 'd-Dawlah captured Abū Aḥmad al-Musawī, who was the syndic of Ṭãlibiyyīn, he appointed al-‘Umarī as the syndic (*naqīb*), a post which he held for four years (*‘Umdatu 'ṭ-ṭãlib*, 2nd ed., pp.367; *al-Fuṣūlu 'l-fakhriyyah*, p.206; *Munyatu 'r-rãghibīn*, pp.209-10; *Mawãridu 'l-itḥãf*, vol.1, p.62). In 369/979 Aḍudu 'd-Dawlah ad-Daylamī captured the syndic Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn (the father of the two Sharīfs, al-Murtaḍã and ar-Raḍī) his brother Abū ‘Abdillãh Aḥmad, and Qãḍi 'l-Qūḍãt Abū Muḥammad ibn Ma‘rūf, and sent them as prisoners to Fars (*Tajãribu 'l-umam*, vol.6, p.399; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, p.98; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.8, p.710; Ibn Kathīr, vol.11, p.295). After ‘Aḍudu 'd-Dawlah's death and Sharafu 'd-Dawlah became the governor of Fars, he released these prisoners (372/983) (Abū Shujã‘, *Dhayl tajãribi 'l-umam*, p.81; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.9, p.23; Ibn Khaldūn, vol.4, p.456).

present" (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.11).

4. Abū Bakr ibn Ṣarãyã (and *al-Biḥãr*, gives this as "Ṣarãmã"), the Mu'tazilī.

(I strongly suspect that "Ṣarãyã" or "Ṣarãmã" is a copying mistake and that he was Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn aṣ-Ṣubrī [or aṣ-Ṣubarī], Abū Bakr ibn Ṣubr [or Ṣubar] al-Ḥanafī [320/932–380/991], the judge of " 'Askari 'l-Mahdī' – a district in east Baghdad, called afterwards ar-Ruṣãfah [*Mu'jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.4, p.124]. He was famous for his Mu'tazilism and his propaganda on its behalf, and was their leader in *kalãm*; he was an intellectually gifted man and wrote many books on *kalãm*, *fiqh* and *tafsīr* [*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.2, pp.321-2; *al-Ansãb*, vol.8, pp.275-6; *al-Lubãb*, vol.2, p.234; *Tãju 'l-'arūs*, vol.3, p.326; ad-Dãwūdī, *Ṭabaqãtu 'l-mufassirīn*, vol.2, pp.158-9].)

The debate took place when ash-Shaykh (al-Mufīd) was present at a session held by Abū Manṣūr ibn al-Marzubãn and "a gathering of *mutakallim*s of the Mu'tazilah were present" (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.85-89; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.10, pp.436-9).

5. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Īsã ar-Rummãnī (the second Mu'tazilī teacher of al-Mufīd). There was a debate with ar-Rummãnī "in a session held by one of the leaders (of the government), and a large gathering of *mutakallim*s and *faqīh*s attended" (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.2, pp.269-74).

6. al-Kutubī:

I have not come across him in the biographies, except that a mention is made of him in the session which Abū Ḥayyãn at-Tawḥīdī relates in which Abū Sa'īd as-Sīrãfī (284/898–368/979) and Abū Bishr, Mattã (ibn Yūnus al-Qunnã'ī, the logician and philosopher [d. 328/940]) debated in the presence of the minister, Ibnu 'l-Furãt in the year 326/937; in this session practitioners of *kalãm* and others gathered together. This is misrepresented by Yãqūt who narrates, from Abū Ḥayyãn, "al-Kindī", whereas al-Kindī, the famous philosopher, had died a long time before this (*c.*175/801–*c.*252/867). [See: *al-Imtã' wa 'l-muãnasah*, vol.1, pp.107-8; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabã'*, vol.3, pp.105-6.] Concerning those who were present at this session, counting those whose lives extended into the seventies of that century, there were aṣ-Ṣīrãfī himself and the narrator, who was 'Alī ibn 'Īsã ar-Rummãnī (296/908–384/994), Abū 'Imrãn Mūsã ibn Riyãḥ, the student of Ibnu 'l-Ikhshīd ([d.*c.*400/1010] *Faḍlu 'l-i'tizãl*, p.331; [Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.221; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.6, p.117) and al-Marzubãnī, companion of Ãl Sãmãn, (if he was Muḥammad ibn 'Imrãn. Abū 'Ubaydillãh al-Marzubãnī [297/910–384/994]). And there were perhaps others than these there, since the dates of the lives of most of them are unknown. It would appear that al-Kutubī was a Mu'tazilī (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.7;

al-Biḥãr, vol.10, p.411; *Majãlisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, p.471).

7. A man from the Mu'tazilah known as 'Arzãlh (?), (he is mentioned in the margin of *al-Biḥãr*), in one copy it is Ghazãlah (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.7-8; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.10, p.413; *Majãlisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, p.471).

8. A man from the Mu'tazilah called Abū 'Amr ash-Shaṭawī (in *al-Biḥãr*, ash-Shawṭī, whenever his name comes). (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.8-9; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.10, pp.412-4; *Majãlisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, pp.471-2.)

b) The Zaydites:

9/1. Those who were anonymous:

"A man from the Zaydiyyah . . ." (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.66-67).

"(ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd) was present in the Mosque of Kūfah, and the people of Kūfah and others gathered around him, and moreover there were more than five hundred people: a man from the Zaydiyyah who was a disruptor and an evil-wisher presented himself to him . . ." There were questions and dispute about the Imãmate of Zayd ibn 'Alī (a.s.) (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.2, p.277; Ibn Sharãshūb, *al-Manãqib*, vol.1, p.260).

10/2. aṭ-Ṭabarãnī:

A *shaykh* from the Zaydiyyah who was a Mu'tazilī, "with learnings towards the school of Abū Hãshim (al-Jubbã'ī), and he extolled him and showed preference towards him" (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.93-94; *al-Biḥãr*, pp.439-43).

c) The Ismã'īlites:

11. A *shaykh* from the Ismã'īlites who was called Ibn Lu'lu'.

I think he must be 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ath-Thaqafī al-Warrãq al-Baghdãdī, famous as Ibn Lu'lu' (281/894–377/987). He was a book-copier and a collector of *ḥadīth*. And he himself used to say he was a Shī'ī, skillful in debate and in s[peculative thought, and that no-one could topple him (*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.12, pp.89-90; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, p.130; *Mīzãnu 'l-i'tidãl*, vol.3, p.154; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.4, p.256). He debated at "the homes of some of the heads of the state" (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.119).

d) The Murji'ites:

12. "Some of the Murji'ites . . ." (*al-Ifṣãḥ* see *'Iddat rasãil*, p.69).

e) The Mujabbirah (The Balievers in Predestination):

13. "Some of the Mujabbirah . . ." (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.65; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.10, p.432).

f) The Ash'arites:

14. al-Qãḍī ibn al-Bãqillãnī:

(Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib ibn Muḥammad al-Baṣrī, subsequently al-Baghdãdī al-Ash'arī al-Mãlikī [38/950–403/1013], an Ash'arite authority and one of their *imãms*.) He took part in one debate about the

warrant (*naṣṣ*) of Amīr al-Mu'minīn ('Alī), peace be upon him, (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.53-55; *Majãlisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, pp.467-470); and another debate concerning the same matter (*'Iddat rasãil*, pp.181-2; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.5, pp.177-8); and the third one also (*Majãlisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, p.467; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.180; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.6, pp.159-60).

al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdãdī al-Ash'arī said concerning Ibnu 'l-Bãqillãnī: "He was the most knowledgeable person in *kalãm*, the best of them in seizing upon a matter (*khãṭir*), the most proficient in oratory, and the clearest of them in explaining, the most precise in locution; he wrote many widely distributed works in refutation of his opponents, Rãfiḍī, Mu'tazilī, Jahmī, Khãrijī, etc. [al-Bãqillãnī] reported: 'Ibnu 'l-Mu'allim [al-Mufīd], the leader of the Rãfiḍites and their *mutakallim*, attended one of the speculative sessions with some of his companions. When al-Qãḍī Abū Bakr al-Ash'arī (Ibnu 'l-Bãqillãnī) came in, Ibnu 'l-Mu'allim turned to his companions and said to them: "Satan has come to you!" al-Bãqillãnī heard what he said, although he was some distance from them, and when he had sat down he turned to Ibnu 'l-Mu'allim and his companions and said to them: "Allãh, the Exalted, said: *Surely, We sent Satans against the unbelievers, to prick them* [Maryam, 19:83: *Hast thou not seen how We sent . . .*], meaning if I am a satan then you are unbelievers, and I have been sent to you."'" (*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.5, p.379 [#.2906]; Ibn 'Asãkir, *Tabyīn kidhbi 'l-muftarī 'ala imãm Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī*, pp.217-8; as-Sam'ãnī, *al-Ansãb*, vol.2, pp.52-53; al-Yãfi'ī, *Mir'ãtu 'l-jinãn*, vol.3, p.7; Ibn 'Abdi 'l-Ḥayy al-Ḥanbali, *Shadharatu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.169; al-Qãḍī 'Īyãḍ, *Tartību 'l-madãrik*, vol.4, p.589; all these narrated this episode as al-Bãqillãnī from al-Khaṭīb, but al-Qãḍī 'Īyãḍ added to it: "Others reported that this debate occurred for him [al-Bãqillãnī] with the attendents of the session of the King Fannã-Khusraw ['Aḍudu 'd-Dawlah ad-Daylamī (324/936–372/983)], [i.e.] with the leaders of the Mu'tazilites, . . . (as above)"

The following exegetical note is worth reporting in connection with this report. aṭ-Ṭabarī said: "Allãh, the Exalted, is saying to His Prophet, may the blessing and peace of Allãh be upon him [and his family]: 'Do you not see, O Muḥammad, We sent satans to the people of unbelief in Allãh to prick them.'" He is saying "to motivate them by seducing and misleading them, in order to egg them on to disobey Allãh and to tempt them to do this until they do it, emphasizing it. The scholars of interpretation say what we have said . . ." (*Jãmi'u 'l-bayãn: sūrah*, "Maryam", [Būlãq ed.], vol.16, p.94-95. Also see *al-Kashshãf*, vol.3, p.42; *al-Baḥru 'l-muḥīṭ*, vol.6, p.216; ar-Rãzī, vol.21,

pp.251-2; Ibn Kathīr, vol.3, pp.136-7; *Rūḥu 'l-ma'ãnī*, vol.16, p.134-5; and elsewhere). The same expression is to be found in *ḥadīth*, where it gives the same interpretation. "It was Ibnu 'z-Zubayr who *azza* (= pricked on) 'Ãishah to rise up (in the Battle of the Camel)", i.e. it was he who motivated her, egged her on, and pushed her to rise up. al-Ḥarbī said: "The meaning of *azz* is to push someone to do something through ruses and courtesy until he does it." And in other Traditions it is said Ṭalḥah and az-Zubayr *azza* (= pricked on) 'Ãishah until she rose up. (Abū Isḥãq al-Ḥarbī, *Gharību 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, pt.3, pp.983-4, who uses the verses above in his interpretation. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, *an-Nihãyah*, vol.1, p.45; *Lisãnu 'l-'Arab*, vol.5, pp.307-8; *Tãju 'l-'arūs*, vol.4, p.5.) From this, the remarks of al-Bãqillãnī would more properly have been addressed to his own followers.

It would seem that the above episode was used by al-Bãqillãnī to al-Khaṭīb's allegations against al-Mufīd, by changing the adversaries in the episode from the Mu'tazilīs, as mentioned by al-Qãḍī 'Īyãḍ, to al-Mufīd (see what is said by al-Khaṭīb concerning al-Mufīd quoted on pp.90-93).

g) The Shãfi'ites:

15/1. Abū Bakr ibn ad-Daqqãq:

(Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja'far, al-Qãḍī Abū Bakr al-Khabbãt, famous as Ibnu 'd-Daqqãq [306/918–392/1002] a Shãfi'ite jurist, author of some of their basic texts and books of jurisprudence. He was appointed as a judge in al-Karkh [a quarter of Baghdad at that time] [*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.3, pp.229-30; *al-Muntazim*, vol.7, p.222; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.9, p.171; al-Isnawī, *Ṭabaqãtu 'sh-Shãfi'iyyah*, vol.1, pp.522-3; ash-Shīrãzī, *Ṭabaqãtu 'sh-Shãfi'iyyah*, p.18; *al-Wãfī bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.1, p.116; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.11, p.203]).

There was a dispute in the session of the Naqīb, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-'Umarī "in the presence of a large gathering" (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.11).

16/2. Abu 'l-Qãsim ad-Dãrakī.

('Abdu 'l-'Azīz ibn 'Abdillãh in Muḥammad, Abu 'l-Qãsim ad-Dãrakī – Dãrak is a village near Iṣfahãn – al-Baghdãdī [*c*.300/913–375/986]. Head of the Shãfi'ite sect in Iraq. Abū Ḥamīd al-Isfarãyīnī [344/955–406/1016], the great Shãfi'ite jurist, said: "I have not seen a more learned *faqīh* than ad-Dãrakī," when a problem would be brought to ad-Dãrakī for his legal opinion [*fatwã*] he would think for a long time and then pronounce his opinion and then he would give his *fatwã* against the ruling of ash-Shãfi'ī or Abū Ḥanīfah. When he was asked about this, he would say: "O you poor people, so-and-so narrated from so-and-so from the Messenger of Allãh, the blessing and peace of Alãh be upon him and his Household, that such-and-such, and

there is greater reason to accept the *ḥadīth* from the Messenger of Allãh, the blessing and peace of Allãh be upon him and his Household, then to accept the words of ash-Shãfi‘ī or Abū Ḥanīfah when they go against it [the *ḥadīth*]" [*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.1, pp.463-5; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, pp.129-30; *al-Ansãb*, vol.5, pp.276-8; Ibn Khallikãn, vol.3, pp.188-9; Ibn Kathīr, vol.11, p.304; and others sources]. ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd debated with him "in a session whose convener was the leader of his time" [*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.123-6].)

h) Those Whose School of *Kalãm* or *Fiqh* is not Known:

17/1. al-Qãḍī Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Sayyãr:

(Aḥmad ibn Sayyãr ibn Muḥammad, al-Qãḍī Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣaymarī, subsequently al-Baghdãdī [d. 368/978-9]. He was appointed a judge in many places in Baghdad and elsewhere. He was a learned man of letters and wrote poetry, as aṣ-Ṣafadī relates. Abū Ḥayyãn at-Tawḥīdī said: "He was a noble and revered person, a man of letters and an eloquent speaker", and he describes him as virtuous, unconcerned with this world, and as a man who deemed rank and position of no importance and kept himself aloof from accepting posts from those who handed them out [*al-Wãfī bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.6, pp.413-4; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, pp.38, 43, 51, 54; *al-Imtã‘ wa 'l-muãnasah*, vol.3, p.154; *al-Baṣãir wa 'dh-dhakhãir*, vol.1, p.307; vol.4, p.275].)

He debated with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd about the meaning of *naṣṣ* (warrant) and the confirmation of the warrant of Amīr al-Mu’minīn, peace be upon him, "in Dãru 's-Salãm (in Baghdad), in the house of ash-Sharīf Abū ‘Abdillãh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭãhir al-Mūsawī[44], may Allãh be pleased with him. There was a large gathering present, whose number exceeded one hundred persons. Among them were the *sharīf*s from the sons of ‘Alī, peace be upon him, and the sons of al-‘Abbãs (ibn ‘Abdi 'l-Muṭṭalib), and other prominent persons and merchants" (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.1-4; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.10, pp.408-11).

18/2. ash-Shaykh Abū Ṭãhir al-Jawharī.

(al-Muḥassin ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Abdillãh, Abū Ṭãhir al-Jawharī ash-Shīrãzī [by origin], al-Baghdãdī [d. 378/988-9]. One of Baghdad's trustworthy bearers of witness [*shãhid*], learned and held in esteem [*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.12, p.155].)

19/3. ash-Shaykh Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Jawharī.

(‘Alī ibn Muḥammad, a younger brother of al-Muḥassin [d. 395/1004]. One

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[44] He was a person from whom al-Mufīd narrated many *aḥãdīth*, and he would say: "ash-Sharīf aṣ-Ṣãliḥ (the righteous) . . ." or "ash-Sharīf al-Fãḍil (the learned) . . ." (See al-Mufīd, *al-Amãlī*, p.39, 42; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *at-Tahdhīb*, vol.6, p.106; *al-Amãlī*, vol.1, p.229.)

of Baghdãd's trustworthy reciters of the Qur'ãn [*muqri'*] and bearers of witness [*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.12, p.95; *Ghãyatu 'n-nihãyah*, vol.1, pp.578-579].)

20/4. ash-Sharīf Abū Muḥammad ibn al-Ma'mūn (?).

These three debated in one session. It appears from the debate that they were all knowledgeable in *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.134-6).

21/5. One of the *shaykh*s of Banū 'Abbãs.

The Shaykh (al-Mufīd) was in Surra-man-ra'ã (Sãmarrã' – the Iraqi town, the resting place of the Imãms al-Hãdī and al-'Askarī, peace be upon them), and a great number of the 'Abbãsids and others gathered around him. One of the 'Abbãsid *shaykh*s said to him . . . (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.2, pp.277-9; *al-Manãqib*, vol.1, pp.262-3).

22/6. A man who was a *faqīh*, known as al-Warthãnī.

(Maybe he is: 'Abdu 'l-Wãḥid ibn Bakr, Abu 'l-Faraj al-Warthãnī aṣ-Ṣūfī [d. 372/982-3], a widely travelled collector of *ḥadīth* [*al-Ansãb*, sheet 580/B; *al-Lubãb*, vol.3, pp.358-9; *Mu'jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.5, p.371].)

There was a debate "in the house of ash-Sharīf Abū 'Abdillãh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭãhir, may Allãh grant him mercy," and in the printed edition of *al-Fuṣūl* we find: "He is one our jurist (*fuqahãinã*)"; but this is typographical error which should read: "He is one of their (non-Imãmiyyah) jurists (*fuqahãihim*)", in *al-Biḥãr* we find "one of their jurists (*fuqahãihim*)", and the debate iself is a proof of the error (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.12-14; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.10, pp.414-7; *Majãlisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, pp.472-4 – where this last matter does not appear).

23/7. al-Jarrãḥ:

(I suppose that this is 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, al-Qãḍī Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Jarrãḥī al-Baghdãdī [298/910–376/986] [*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.11, p.387; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, p.130]). See the preceding debate and its references.

24/8. One of the *aṣḥãbu 'l-ḥadīth* (traditionists) who followed the school of al-Karãbīsī (al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ash-Shãfi'ī [d. 248/862], whose school is near to that of the Ash'arite school), (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.29; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.10, p.424).

25/9. A judge who debated with him about the validity of analogical reasoning (*qiyãs*).

He asked him (al-Mufīd) "in a session of judges, and a large crowd of jurists and *mutakallim*s were there" (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.50-51).

5. His books and Treatises Concerning *Kalãm* and Debating:

Our Shaykh al-Mufīd had "many writings in *uṣūl* (the principles of religion and jurisprudence) *kalãm* and *fiqh* (*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.3, p.231; *Mīzãnu 'l-i'tidãl*, vol.4, p.26; *al-A'lãm*, vol.7, p.245; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.2, p.62; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.11, p.306). He wrote more than two hundred

books (aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.186; Ibn Dãwūd, p.334; al-'Allãmah, p.147; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, p.33; *Mīzãnu 'l-i'tidãl*, vol.4, p.30; *al-'Ibar*, vol.3, pp.114-5; *Mukhtaṣar duwali 'l-Islãm*, vol.1, p.246; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.5, p.368; *Shadharãtu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.200; Sezgin, I, 550-1, 46).

The following are of relevance to the investigations of *kalãm*, dialectics, and debating.

1 & 2. *al-'Uyūn wa 'l-maḥãsin* (The Gems and the Beauties) and *al-Fuṣūl mina 'l-'uyūn wa 'l-maḥãsin* (Chapters from the Gems and the Beauties).

He wrote the first book and then summarized it in the second. an-Najãshī mentions both of them, but ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī only mentions the second. ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã, his student, wrote *al-Fuṣūlu 'l-mukhtãrah mina* (selected parts from) *'l-'uyūn wa 'l-maḥãsin* during the lifetime of his teacher. At the beginning of it, he says: "You, may Allãh support you, have asked that I collect for you some sections of the writings of our Shaykh and Master, al-Mufīd, Abū 'Abdillãh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Nu'mãn, may Allãh perpetuate his renown, some of the discussions and remarks in his book known as *al-'Uyūn wa 'l-maḥãsin*, so that you may be refreshed by reading it on your journey, and may spread his remembrance in your home and country . . ." I have not been able to verify who the requester was.

It seems that ash-Shaykh Ãghã Buzurg was of the opinion that *al-'Uyūn wa 'l-maḥãsin* is the same book as the one which is called *al-Ikhtiṣãṣ* which has been printed, since, when he describes the manuscript copy of *al-'Uyūn*, his description corresponds to *al-Ikhtiṣãṣ*. His proof for this is what al-Mufīd says in the opening of *al-Ikhtiṣãṣ*: "I wrote this book . . . and included in it the specialized disciplines (*funūn*) of *ḥadīth*, the gems of narrations (*'uyūnan mina 'l-akhbãr*) and the beauties of narrations . . ." as-Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī al-Khirsãn disputed this and proves that these are two different books, both in substance and in style, (see: *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.1, pp.358-9; vol.15, p.386; vol.16, pp.244-5; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.25; al-Khirsãn, Introduction to *al-Ikhtiṣãṣ* [Najaf edition], pp.22-23).

3. *Awãilu 'l-maqãlãt fi 'l-madhãhib wa 'l-mukhtãrãt* (The Early Thesis Concerning the Sects and Selected [Opinions]), (printed).

After this, ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd wrote *al-I'lãm fī-mã ittafaqat al-Imãmiyyah 'alayhi mina 'l-aḥkãm* (The information About What the Imãmiyyah are agreed Upon in the Precepts), at the request of his student ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã, and this later was written as a supplement to *Awãilu 'l-maqãlãt*, since al-Mufīd mentions in the *Awãil* what the Imãmiyyah were in agreement about beliefs, and in *al-I'lãm* what they were in agreement about the

"branches" or precepts (*al-Furū‘*), (*adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.2, pp.237, 472-3).

4. *Taṣḥīḥu 'l-I‘tiqãd* (The Emendation of Belief) (printed).

This is a work written in explanation of ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq's *I‘tiqãdãtu 'l-Imãmiyyah* (see § 120).

5. *Jawãbatu 'l-faylasūf fi 'l-ittiḥãd* (Answers to the Philosopher Concerning Unity).
6. *Jawãbãtu 'l-masãil fī laṭīfi 'l-kalãm* (Answers to Questions on the Fine Points of Theology).

Sometimes called: *al-Laṭīf mina 'l-kalãm* (see no.19 below). There are remarks in it about substance and accident, the heavenly spheres, the vacuum, and the like.

7. *al-Kalãm fi 'l-ma‘dūm* (Remarks on the Non-existent).
8. *al-Kalãm fi 'l-ma‘dūm wa 'r-radd ‘ala 'l-Jubbã’ī* (Remarks on Non-existent, and the Refutation of al-Jubbã’ī).

This latter is: Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdi 'l-Wahhãb, Abū ‘Alī (235/749–303/916), the leader of the Mu‘tazilah in his time.

9. *al-Kalãm fi 'l-insãn* (Remarks on Man).
10. *al-Kalãm fī anna 'l-makãn lã yakhlū min mutamakkin* (Remarks on How Place Cannot be Devoid of What is in It).
11. *Mas’alah fi 'l-irãdah* (An Article on Will).
12. *Mas’alah fi 'l-aṣlaḥ* (An Article on the Best [of Possible Worlds]).
13. *Qaḍiyyatu 'l-‘aql ‘ala 'l-af‘ãl* (The Judgement of the Intellect on Actions).
14. *al-Majãlisu 'l-maḥfūẓah fī funūni 'l-kalãm* (Sessions which have been Preserved Concerning the Skills of *Kalãm*).
15. *ar-Radd ‘ala 'l-Jãḥiẓ fi 'l-‘Uthmãniyyah* (Refutation of al-Jãḥiẓ's book *al-‘Uthmãniyyah*).

This is: ‘Amr ibn Baḥr, Abū ‘Uthmãn al-Jãḥiẓ (163/780–255/869), the famous Mu‘tazilite *mutakallim* and man of letters, and *al-‘Uthmãniyyah* was one of his most famous works, which the Imãmiyyah *mutakallim*s refuted. (See § s.30, 73 & 106).

16. *an-Naqḍ ‘ala 'l-Jãḥiẓ fī faḍilati 'l-Mu‘tazilah* (or *Naqḍ faḍilati 'l-Mu‘tazilah li 'l-Jãḥiẓ*) (Disproof of al-Jãḥiẓ' Book "The Excellence of the Mu‘tazilah") (see *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.24, pp.286, 290).
17. *Naqḍ faḍilati 'l-Mu‘tazilah* (Disproof of the Excellence of the Mu‘tazilah). an-Najãshī mentions this as different book from the preceding one, so perhaps it is another book refuting al-Jãḥiẓ, or against another writer whose book bore the same name.
18. *Jawãbãt Muqãtil ibn ‘Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn ‘ammã istakhrajahu min kutubi 'l-Jãḥiẓ* (Answers to Muqãtil ibn ‘Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn on What He Extracted

from the Books of Jãḥiẓ).

19. *Mas'alatu 'l-farq bayna 'sh-Shī'ah wa 'l-Mu'tazilah wa 'l-faṣl bayna 'l-'adliyyah minhumã wa 'l-qawl fi 'l-laṭīf mina 'l-kalãm* (The Matter of the Difference Between the Shī'ah and the Mu'tazilah and the Separation Between Those Who Believe in Justice from Both Sects and Remark on the *Laṭīf* [Subjects] of *Kalãm*).

The *mutakallim*: mean by "*laṭīfu 'l-kalãm*" those matters of *kalãm* which are abstruse and ambiguous, and to understand which needs a clear-sighted mind and comprehensive discussion.

20. *ar-Risãlatu 'l-muqni'ah fī wifãqi 'l-Baghdãdiyyīn mina 'l-Mu'tazilah limã ruwiyah 'ani 'l-aimah, 'alayhimu 's-salãm* (Convincing Letter on the Baghdãdī Mu'tazalīs' Agreement with Traditions Reported on the Authority of the Imãms, peace be upon them).
21. *an-Naqḍ 'ala 'l-Balkhī fī khamsah 'asharah mas'alah* (or in an-Najãshī, *aqḍu 'l-khamsah 'asharah mas'alah 'ala 'l-Balkhī*) (Refutation of al-Balkhī [Abu 'l-Qãsim al-Ka'bī al-Mu'tazilī (273/886–319/931)] in Fifteen Matters).
22. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Mu'tazilah fi 'l-wa'īd* (Refutation of the Mu'tazilah Concerning "*wa'īd*" [see § 17]); or according to an-Najãshī, *Mukhtaṣar 'ala 'l-Mu'tazilah fi 'l-wa'īd* (The Concise Treatise Against the Mu'tazilah Concerning Their Belief in "*wa'īd*").
23. *ar-Radd 'alã Ibn Kullãb fi 'ṣ-ṣifãt* (Refutation of Ibn Kullãb Concerning Divine Attributes).

This is: 'Abdullãh ibn Sa'īd ibn Muḥammad ibn Kullãb al-Qaṭṭãn al-Baghdãdī [d. 241/855]. He is counted as a Sunnī *mutakallim*, and according to what is said, he was an upholder of Divine Attributes according to the position held by the traditionists among the Sunnīs. al-Ash'arī took his opinions from him after he turned away from belief in *i'tizãl*.

24. *ar-Radd 'alã aṣḥãbi 'l-Ḥallãj* (Refutation of the Followers of al-Ḥallãj).

(al-Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr [244/258–309/922], the famous Ṣūfī, who held the famous views for which he was disgracefully killed, or which, rather were the pretext for his killers.)

25. *ar-Radd 'ala 'sh-Sha'bī* (Refutation of ash-Sha'bī).

This is: 'Ãmir ibn Sharãḥīl, Abū 'Amr ash-Sha'bī (19/640–103/721), the famous bearer and transmitter of traditions. He joined forces with 'Abdu 'l-Malik ibn Marwãn, the Umayyad caliph (26/646– ruled 65/685–86/705), and was his boon companion and co-reveller, and a pillar of his rule (*al-A'lãm*, vol.4, pp.18-19; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.5, p.54, and the sources to which

this refers).

26. *Kitãb fi 'l-qiyãs* (A Book on Analogical Reasoning), Ãghã Buzurg called it *Ibṭãlu 'l-qiyãs.* (The Invalidation of Analogical Reasoning). (See *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.1, p.170; vol.17, pp.220-1)
27. *Kitãb fi 'l-ijmã'* (A Book on Consensus).
28. *Naqḍu 'l-Marwãniyyah* (Disproof of al-Marwãniyyah [?]).
29. *ar-Radd 'alã Ibn 'Awn fi 'l-makhlūq* (Refutation of Ibn 'Awn Concerning What was Created).

Apparently, this is Muḥammad ibn Ja'far, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ibn 'Awn al-Asadī (see § 138).

30. *an-Naqḍ 'alã* (Disproof of) *Ibnu 'l-Junayd* (al-Iskãfī, see § 117) *fī Ijtihãdi 'r-Ra'y* (Concerning his Book "The Derivation of Legal Opinions").
31. *Rasãlãtu 'l-Junaydī ilã ahli Miṣr*.

This is the refutation of the treatise, which Ibn al-Junayd wrote to the people of Egypt. (See *al-Masãilu 's-Sãrawiyyah*: in *'Iddat rasãil*, p.224; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.5, p.187.)

32. *al-Mūḍiḥ fi 'l-wa'īd* (The Clarifying Treatise on "*wa'īd*", [see § 17].)
33. *Maqãbīsu 'l-anwãr fi 'r-radd 'alã ahli 'l-akhbãr* (The Borrowed Lights in Refutation of the Traditionists).
34. *Nahju 'l-bayãn 'an subuli 'l-īmãn* (The Method of Clarification of the Paths of Faith).
35. *an-Naqḍ 'alã Abū 'Abdillãh al-Baṣrī kitãbahu 'l-mut'ah* (Refutation of Abū 'Abdillãh al-Baṣrī [one of al-Mufīd's Mu'tazilī teachers) Concerning his Book on Fixed-Period Marriage).
36. *ar-Radd 'alã Abū 'Abdillãh al-Baṣrī fī tafḍīli 'l-malãikah 'ala 'l-anbiyã'* (Refutation of Abū 'Abdillãh al-Baṣrī Concerning [his view] of the Superiority of the Angels Over the Prophets).
37. *Jawãb al-Kirmãnī fī faḍli 'n-nabiyy, ṣalla'llãhu 'alayhi wa ãlihi wa sallam, 'alã sãiri 'l-anbiyã', 'alayhimu 's-salãm* (Answer to al-Kirmãnī Concerning the Excellence of the Prophet, the Blessing and Peace of Allãh be upon him and his Household, Over the Other Prophets, Peace be Upon Them).

I have not found the biography of al-Kirmãnī, nor any reference to him except what the Mu'tazilites al-Ḥãkim al-Jushamī and Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍã mentioned when they said: "Among their co-sectarians (i.e., the Mu'tazilites who were of the generation of al-Qãḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbãr [320/932–415/1025]) was Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Kirmãnī" (*Sharḥu 'l-'uyūn*, see *Faḍlu 'l-i'tizãl*, p.391; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.199).

38. *Mas'alah fī ma'rifati 'n-nabiyy, ṣalla'llãhu 'alayhi wa ãlihi wa sallam,*

bi 'l-kitãbah (Remarks on the Written Knowledge of the Prophet, the Blessing and Peace of Allãh be upon him and his Household).

39. *Mas'alah fī inshiqãqi 'l-qamar wa taklīmi 'dh-dhirã'* (Remarks on the Spliting of the Moon and the [Giving of the Power of] Speech to the Forearm [of the Holy Prophet, the Blessing and Peace of Allãh be upon him and his Household]).
40. *Mas'alah fi 'l-mi'rãj* (Remarks on the Night Journey).
41. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Qutaybī* (according to aṭ-Ṭūsī: *'alã Ibn Qutaybah*) *fi 'l-ḥikãyah wa 'l-maḥkiyy* (Refutation of al-Qutaybī or Ibn Qutaybah Concerning his Book *al-Ḥikãyah wa 'l-maḥkiyy*).

This is: 'Abdullãh ibn Muslim al-Qutaybī, Abū Muḥammad ibn Qutaybah ad-Dīnawarī [213/828–276/889], the man of letters, traditionist, *mutakallim* and historian. [Ibn] an-Nadīm mentions tha he wrote *al-Ḥikãyah wa 'l-maḥkiyy* [see §96-bk.10], [Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.86; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.1, p.41.

42. *al-Kalãm fī wujūh i'jãzi 'l-Qur'ãn* (Discussion of Aspects of the Qur'ãn's Inimitability).
43. *al-Bayãn fī ta'līfi 'l-Qur'ãn* (Explanation of the Compilation of the Qur'ãn).
44. *al-Kalãm fī dalãili 'l-Qur'ãn* (Discussion of the Proofs of the Qur'ãn).
45. *al-Bayãn 'an ghalaṭ Quṭrub fi 'l-Qur'ãn* (Exposition of Quṭrub's Error About the Qur'ãn).

This is: Muḥammad ibn al-Mustanīr ibn Aḥmad, Abū 'Alī al-Baṣrī al-Mu'tazilī [d. 206/821], the man of letters, grammarian, philologist and student of an-Naẓẓãm [*al-A'lãm*, vol.7, p.315; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.12, pp.15-16].

46. *al-Kalãm fī ḥudūthi 'l-Qur'ãn* (Discussion of the Temporal Production of the Qur'ãn).
47. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Jubbã'ī fi 't-tafsīr* (Refutation of al-Jubbã'ī's *tafsīr*).

This is: Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi 'l-Wahhãb, Abū 'Alī [235/849–303/916], the leader of the Mu'tazilites in his time, and his commentary of the Holy Qur'ãn [*tafsīr*] is one of his most famous works.

48. *ar-Radd 'ala 'z-Zaydiyyah* (Refutation of the Zaydīs).

49–51. *al-Masãilu 'l-Jãrūdiyyah* (an-Najãshī calls it: *al-Masãilu 'z-Zaydiyyah*) *fī anna 'l-imãmah fī wuldi 'l-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, 'alayhima 's-salãm*, (Questions from the Jãrūdīs (or the Zaydīs) concerning the Imãmate going to the sons of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, peace be upon them both.

This is the controversy, which the Jãrūdiyyah, one of the most famous Zaydī sects, instigated in a special form, and the Zaydites in a general form against the Imãmī belief that the Imãmate after al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon

him, was restricted specifically to his son. In the treatise itself – i.e., the dispute with the Jãrūdiyyah – is another treatise of al-Mufīd's, *ath-Thaqalãn* (The Two Charges: i.e., the Holy Qur'ãn and the *Ahlu 'l-Bayt*), and a third treatise of his on the preferment of Amīr al-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him, over all the prophet, peace be upon them, except the Messenger of Allãh, the blessing and peace of Allãh be upon him and his Household. The three books have been printed (*al-Masãilu 'l-Jãrudiyyah*, – *'Iddat rasãil,* pp.166-73; *ath-Thaqalãn – ibid.*, pp.176-80; *at-Tafḍīl – ibid.*, pp.200-6).

52. *ar-Radd 'alã Ibn Ikhshīdh fi 'l-imãmah* (Refutation of Ibn al-Ikhshīdh Concerning the Imãmate).

This is: Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Bighjūr, Abū Bakr ibn al-Ikhshīdh (or al-Ikhshãdh) al-Baghdãdī (270/883–326/936), a famous Mu'tazilī *mutakallim* and one of their leaders. He received his training from a number of them, one of them being Abū Hãshim al-Jubbã'ī ([Ibn] an-Nadīm, pp.220-1; *Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.4, p.309; *al-Wãf'ī bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.7, p.216; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, vol.4, p.203; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.1, p.231; *al-A'lãm*, vol.1, p.165; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.1, p.320).

53. *an-Naqḍ 'alã* (Disproof of) *Ja'far ibn Ḥarb* (the Baghdãdī Mu'tazilite [177/793–236/850]) *fi 'l-imãmah* (Concerning Imãmate).
54. *an-Naqḍ 'alã 'Alī ibn 'Īsã ar-Rummãnī* (the third of al-Mufīd's Mu'tazilī teacher) *fi 'l-imãmah*.
55. *an-Naqḍ 'ala 'l-Wãsiṭī* (Disproof of al-Wãsiṭī).

This is: Muḥammad ibn Zayd ibn 'Alī, Abū 'Abdillãh al-Wãsiṭī al-Baghdãdī (d. 307/919), a Mu'tazilite *mutakallim*, a student of Abū 'Alī al-Jubbã'ī. Among his books is: *al-Imãmah*, (*al-A'lãm*, vol.6, p.367; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.10, p.13, and the sources quoted in them).

56. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Karãbīsī fi 'l-imãmah* (see § 79).
57. *al-Īḍãḥ fi 'l-imãmah* (The Elucidation of the Imãmate).
58. *al-Ifṣãḥ fi 'l-imãmah* (The Open Declaration About the Imãmate) (printed).
59. *Kitãb fī imãmat Amīri 'l-Mu'minīn, 'alayhi 's-salãm, mina 'l-Qur'ãn* (A Book Proving the Imãmate of Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him, from the Qur'ãn).
60. *Mas'alah fi 'n-naṣṣi 'l-jaliyy* (Remarks on the Clear or Public Warrant [for Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him]).
61. *al-'Umdah fi 'l-imãmah* (The Basic Issue in the Imãmate).
62. *al-Muqni'ah fī imãmat Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn, 'alayhi 's-salãm* (Persuasion Concerning the Imãmate of Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him).
63. *an-Naqḍ 'ala 'n-naṣībī fi 'l-imãmah* (Disproof of an-Naṣībī Concerning the Imãmate).

This is: Ibrãhīm ibn ‘Alī ibn Sa‘īd ibn ‘Alī ibn Zawba‘ah, Abū Isḥãq an-Naṣībī/an-Naṣībīnī, also called Muq‘adah, the Mu‘tazilī *mutakallim* and student of Ju‘al, that is, Abū ‘Abdillãh al-Baṣrī, one of al-Mufīd's Mu‘tazilī teachers (*al-Muqãbasãt*, p.159; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, p.179 – where his name is given completely in the chain of transmission – *Akhlãqu 'l-wazīrayn*, p.211 – in the margin: *Nishwãru 'l-muḥãḍarah*, vol.1, p.91; vol.2, p.202; vol.5, p.21; *al-Faraj ba‘da 'sh-shiddah*, vol.3, pp.371, 374). al-Ḥãkim al-Jushamī and Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍã, the Mu‘tazilites, mention him in the generation of al-Qãḍī ‘Abdu 'l-Jabbãr (320/932–415/1025), and say: "He possessed dep knowledge." (*Sharḥu 'l-‘uyūn*, see *Faḍlu 'l-i‘tizãl*, p.378; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.196). Abū Ḥayyãn at-Tawḥīdī said of him: "Precise in *kalãm*; he doubted all Divine prophecies. I have heard many doubts about this from him." (*al-Imtã‘ wa 'l-muãnasah*, vol.1, p.141; a similar thing is mentioned in *Akhlãqu 'l-wazīrayn*, p.297; Abū Ḥayyãn most strongly maligns his moral and religion, and he says: "He was one of the most morally depraved people," then he relates many stories (see *Akhlãqu 'l-wazīrayn*, pp.211-3).

64. *Naqḍ kitãbi 'l-Aṣamm fi 'l-imãmah* (Disproof of al-Aṣamm's Book on the Imãmate).

This is: ‘Abdu 'r-Raḥmãn ibn Kaysãn, Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm al-Baṣrī al-Mu‘tazilī (d. 200/816). He was famous for enmity towards Amīru 'l-Mu’minīn, peace be upon him.

65. *ar-Radd ‘ala 'l-Khãlidī fi 'l-imãmah* (Refutation of al-Khãlidī Concerning the Imãmate).

This is: Ibrãhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Shihãb, Abu 'ṭ-Ṭayyib al-Khãlidī al-Baṣrī, subsequently al-Baghdãdī (*c.*272/885–356/967), the Ḥanafite *faqīh*, the *mutakallim*, who combined his belief in Mu‘tazilism with a profound belief in *irjã’*. ([Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.221; *Faḍlu 'l-i‘tizãl*, p.324; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.193; ash-Shahrastãnī, vol.1, p.139; *Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.6, p.167; *Hadiyyatu 'l-‘ãrifīn*, vol.1, p.6.)

66. *ar-Radd ‘alã Ibn Rashīd fi 'l-imãmah* (Refutation of Ibn Rashīd Concerning the Imãmate).

I have not found his biography, nor any reference, except where Abū Ḥayyãn at-Tawḥīdī mentions the gathering of *mutakallim*s who were present at a session of the *wazīr* Ibnu 'l-Furãt in the year 326/937, and among them were Ibn Rashīd, al-Khãlidī, Ibn al-Ikhshãdh, Ibn Abī Bishr (i.e., Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī) and others (*al-Imtã‘ wa 'l-mu’ãnasah*, vol.1, pp.107-8; *Mu‘jamu 'l-udabã’*, vol.3, pp.105-6).

67. *an-Naqḍ ‘alã* (Refutation of) *Ghulãm* (in some sources: *‘allãm*) al-

Baḥrãnī (in some sources: *an-Najrãnī*) *fi 'l-imãmah*.

68. *an-Naqḍ ‘alã* (Disproof of) *Ibn ‘Abbãd fi 'l-imãmah*.

This is how it is given by Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī in *al-Fihrist*, p.187, and an-Najãshī, p.312; in *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, pp.33-34; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, pp.227, 231, and *Ma‘ãlimu 'l-‘ulamã’*, p.101. The critical editor ‘Abbãs Iqbãl says in the marginalia of *Ma‘ãlimu 'l-‘ulamã’*: "In the original manuscript: *an-Naqḍ ‘alã ‘Alī ibn ‘Abbãd*." Ãghã Buzurg says in *adh-Dharī‘ah* (vol.24, p.288): "This is how it is given in some copies of the book, but if it is certain that the correct form of the name is *an-Naqḍ ‘alã Ibn ‘Abbãd*, and I presume to be so, apparently it refers to Ismã‘īl ibn ‘Abbãd ibn al-‘Abbãs, Abu 'l-Qãsim aṣ-Sãḥib ibn ‘Abbãd aṭ-Ṭãlaqãnī (326/938–385/995), the famous *wazīr*, man of letters and *mutakallim*."

The Mu‘tazilites, the Zaydīs and the Imãmīs all contend for this Ibn ‘Abbãd, and the majority of his Imãmī biographers count him as one of their own and argue against those who attach him to other groups (see: *Ma‘ãlimu 'l-‘ulamã’*, p.8; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.34-39; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.2, pp.19-43; *Majãlisu 'l-mu’minīn*, vol.2, pp.403-9; *al-Ghadīr*, vol.4, pp.40-81; *A‘yãnu 'sh-Shī‘ah*, vol.11, pp.231-74. For discussion of his sectarian affiliation see Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan Ãl Yã Sīn, *aṣ-Ṣãḥib Ibn ‘Abbãd* (pp.69-86). However, ash-Sharīf Abu 'l-Qãsim ‘Alī ibn Ṭãwūs al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥillī (589/1193–664/1266) counts him as a non-Imãmī. He says: "Even though his writings contain definite indication of a Shī‘ī conformity in beliefs, we have found that the Shaykh of the Imãmīs in his time, al-Mufīd Muḥammad ibn an-Nu‘mãn, may Allãh sanctify his spirit, relates Ismã‘īl ibn ‘Abbãd to the Mu‘tazilites in the introduction of his book *Nahju 'l-ḥaqq*. Similarly, we notice that al-Murtaḍã, may Allãh fill his grave with light, relates Ismã‘īl ibn ‘Abbãd to the Mu‘tazilites in his book *al-Inṣãf* in which he refutes Ibn ‘Abbãd, who took sides with al-Jãḥiẓ" (*al-Yaqīn*, p.174; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.25, pp.281-2).

There are those who are of the opinion that aṣ-Ṣãḥib was a Zaydī. at-Tawḥīdī thinks he belongs to this sect (*Akhlãqu 'l-wazīrayn*, p.167). Dr. Nãjī Ḥasan has published his *Nuṣrat madhãhibi 'z-Zaydiyyah* (Defending Zaydī Sects) (Baghdad, 1395/1975), which was dictated by aṣ-Ṣãḥib to an amanuensis who took it down in writing. It discusses the points on which the Imãmīs and the Zaydīs differ, and in the book aṣ-Ṣãḥib defends the Zaydī beliefs. The book has reached us through the Zaydīs themselves. I believe that aṣ-Ṣãḥib was a Zaydī at the beginning, and then changed to become an Imãmī. Dr. Nãjī Ḥasan printed this work again in Beirut as aṣ-Ṣãḥib ibn

'Abbãd's *Zaydiyya*.[45] Neither in the Baghdad's edition, nor in the Beirut edition, has he given any indication of why he attributes the text to aṣ-Ṣãḥib, nor does he give any information on the manuscript or printed work on which he based his text. His attribution would seem to be incorrect, and it is the text of one of the following two:

i) Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Hãrūn ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Hãrūnī al-Ḥasanī al-Mu'ayyid bi'llãh az-Zaydī (333/945–411/1021), who rose to the imãmate in al-Jīl ad-Daylamī (Gīlãn). He was an Imãmī who turned to Zaydīsm for the reason which aṭ-Ṭūsī gives at the beginning of *at-Tahdhīb*. The Zaydī biographers say that he and his brother Abū Ṭãlib al-Hãrūnī were both Imãmīs with an Imãmī father, and then they converted to Zaydīsm. aṭ-Ṭūsī's explanation seem to show that they were looking for a school which would allow them to rise up and claim the imãmate, and they found it in Zaydīsm.[46]

ii) His brother, Yaḥyã ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū Ṭãlib al-Hãrūnī al-Ḥasanī, an-Nãṭiq bi'l-Ḥaqq az-Zaydī (340/951–424/1033). He was one of the pupils of al-Mufīd.[47] He claimed the imãmate after the death of his brother.[48]

The text which Dr. Nãjī Ḥasan published is the *Kitãbu 'ḍ-Ḍi'ãmah* by Abū Ṭãlib al-Hãrūnī. If this is the same text which Sezgin attributes to his brother under the title of *Nuṣrat madhãhibi 'z-Zaydiyyah*, then this must be a mistake by Sezgin. Nashwãn al-Ḥimyarī az-Zaydī said: "as-Sayyid Abū Ṭãlib Yaḥyã ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Hãrūn al-Ḥasanī relates in his *Kitãbu 'ḍ-Ḍi'ãmah*: 'All the sects of the community agree on the Imãmate of Zayd ibn 'Alī, peace be upon him, except the one sect previously mentioned [i.e., the Rãfiḍã].'"[49] Nashwãn al-Ḥimyarī also said: "as-Sayyid Abū Ṭãlib said in the *Kitãbu 'ḍ-Ḍi'ãmah . . .*" and then procedes to narrate from Abū Ṭãlib a

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[45] Beirut, ad-Dãr al-'Arabiyyah li 'l-Mawsū'ãt, 1986.

[46] *al-Ḥadãiqu 'l-wãrdiyyah*, vol.2, pp.65-67; Sezgin, Cairo edn., II, 212-3; Saudi edn., I/iii, p.349. For another example of turning to Zaydīsm for the same reasons see an-Nãṣir az-Zaydī, no.59 above.

[47] Ibn Isfandiyãr, *Tãrīkh Tabaristãn*, p.101.

[48] *al-Ḥadãiqu 'l-wãrdiyyah*, vol.2, pp.88-90.

[49] *al-Ḥūru 'l-'īn*, pp.185-7; as-Siyãghī narrates this from him in *ar-Rawḍu 'n-naḍīr*, vol.1, pp.101-2, and Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍã in *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, pp.94-95 narrates the same quote as an-Nshwãn from the *Kitãbu 'ḍ-Di'ãmah*, attributing it to Abū Ṭãlib. Exactly the same quote comes in Dr. Nãjī Ḥasan's text: pp.206ff., and the editor rather surprisingly gives the reference to *al-Ḥūru 'l-'īn*, p.185 without saying this was the statement of Abū Ṭãlib in *aḍ-Ḍi'ãmah*.

refutation of the chains of transmission of Twelver traditions.[50]

Nevertheless, all that has come down to us of the books and writings of aṣ-Ṣãḥib in *uṣūlu 'd-dīn* and doctrine were written in the Mu'tazilī spirit, and for this reason I do not count him as an Imãmī *mutakallim*: he belonged to Mu'talizilism because his *kalãm* works are absolutely Mu'tazilī.

It is also clear that in his book, our Shaykh al-Mufīd refuted Ibn 'Abbãd in his *Kitãbu 'l-Imãmah* which (Ibn) an-Nadīm and others mention as being his and which they describe thus: "He mentions the superiority of Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭãlib, peace be upon him, in it, and the confirmation of the Imãmate of those who proceded him" (*al-Fihrist*, p.150; Ibn Khallikãn, vol.1, p.230; *al-Wãfī bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.9, p.138; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabã'*, vol.2, p.315; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.1, p.209).

69. *al-Masãilu 'l-'Asharah fi 'l-ghaybah* (Ten Questions About the Occultation) (printed).
70. *al-Jawãbãt fī khurūji 'l-Mahdi, 'alayhi 's-salãm* (Answers About the Appearance of the Occultation).

This is possibly: Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Īsã al-Qummī, known as aṭ-Ṭalḥī. He was one of the eminent personalities in Qum and a governor there appointed by the state, just as his father was before him. He wrote a book on his questions and the answers of Abū Muḥammad al-'Askarī, peace be upon him, (232/827–260/868). (an-Najãshī, p.287; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.175; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, pp.275-6; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.325-6; al-'Allãmah, p.160; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.323; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.155; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.158; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, pp.378-9.) It is possible that after the death of al-'Askarī, peace be upon him, he wrote a book about the Occultation in which al-Mufīd found something objectionable and which he refuted.

72. *Mas'alah fī ma'na qawlihi ṣalla'llãhu 'alayhi wa ãlihi wa sallam: "Innī mukhallifun fīkum ath-thaqalayn* (an-Najãshī) (Remarks on the meaning of his [the Prophet's] saying, may Allãh bless him and his Household and grant them peace: "I leave amongst you two charges"). Perhaps this is the same as no.50.
73. *Kitãb fī ma'na qawlihi ṣalla'llãhu 'alayhi wa ãlihi wa sallam: "Anta minni bi-manzilati Hãrūn min Mūsã"* (Book on the meaning of his [the Prophet's], may Allãh bless him and his progeny and grant them peace, saying [to 'Alī, peace be upon him]: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses").

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[50] *al-Ḥūru 'l-'īn*, p.253. In Dr. Nãjī Ḥasan's text, p.214, the same quote is given with a few changes.

74. *al-Mas'alah fī aqḍa 'ṣ-ṣaḥãbah* (Remarks on the one who is most capable of giving legal decision among the companions [of the Holy Prophet, may Allãh bless him and his progeny and grant them peace]).
75. *Mas'alah fī ma'na qawli 'n-nabiyy, ṣalla'llãhu 'alayhi wa ãlihi wa sallam: "Aṣḥãbi ka 'n-nujūm"* (Remarks on the meaning of the saying of the Prophet, may Allãh bless him and his progeny and grant them peace: "My Companions are like the Stars).
76. *Mas'alah fī mīrãthi 'n-nabiyy, ṣalla'llãhu 'alayhi wa ãlihi wa sallam* (Remarks on the Prophet's Legacy, may Allãh bless him and his progeny and grant them peace).
77. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-'Atīqī* (Refutation of al-'Atīqī [in some dubious manuscripts: al-'Aqīqī, and in some manuscripts of an-Najãshī: an-Nasafī] *fī 'sh-shūrã* (Concerning 'Consultation').

I have not found sure indications concerning the book or the author, but I have come across four books with the name: *Kitãbu 'sh-Shūrã* (see *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.14, pp.245-6). It is not impossible that two of them are the ones refuted by al-Mufīd:

a) *Kitãbu 'sh-Shūrã*, written by Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi 'l-Wãḥid, Abū 'Umar az-Zãhid al-Muṭarriz al-Bãwardī, subsequently al-Baghdãdī, famous as "Ghulãm Tha'lab" (student of Tha'lab [261/875–345/ 956]). It is known of him that he was extremely favourable towards Mu'ãwiyah ibn Abī Sufyãn and his son Yazīd, and that he had excessive love for them and defended them. He has writings on this subject. The book is mentioned in (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.83; Ibn Khallikãn, vol.4, p.330; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabã'*, vol.10, pp. 266-7 and *Kashfu 'ẓ-ẓunūn*, vol.2, p.1431].

b) *ash-Shūrã*, written by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd, al-Ḥãfẓ Abu 'l-'Abbãs ibn 'Uqdah al-Kūfī (249/863–336/944), the famous Zaydī narrator of traditions, who associated with the Imãmīs and also wrote books for them. His book is mentioned by aṭ-Ṭūsī in *al-Fihrist*, p.53; an-Najãshī, p.74; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.14, pp.245-6; *Īḍãḥu 'l-maknūn*, vol.2, p.306.

The first of these two is the more likely to have been the book which al-Mufīd refuted, if he refuted either of them. But neither of them is called al-*'Atīqī* nor *al-'Aqīqī* or *an-Nasafī*.

As for al-'Atīqī, the one I have come across who could have written a book in which al-Mufīd could find something to refute is Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammd ibn Manṣūr, Abu 'l-'Abbãs ar-Rūyãnī (Rūyãn is in Tabaristãn) al-'Atīqī (331/942-3–413/1022), a *faqīh* of the people of Ṭarsūs (Ṭarsūs is in Turkey) and their legal au-

thority. At the end of his life he settled in Baghdãd, (*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.1, p.353), and his son, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad (367/977–441/1049) was one of the trustworthy memorizers of the *aḥãdīth* (*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.4, p.379; *al-Ansãb*, vol.9, p.233). However, I have not found any book by the father, who was a contemporary of al-Mufīd, with this name. As for the manuscript, which has "an-Nasafī", about the correctness, of which I have strong doubts, it is mentioned in *al-Ansãb*, (vol.7, p.280) that there was a *shaykh* called an-Nasafī whose name was Aḥmad ibn ʻAbdi 'l-ʻAzīz who was a Muʻtazilī who lived in the 4th – 5th cent. A.H.

78. *Kitãb fī tafḍīl Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn ʻalayhi 's-salãm ʻalã sãir aṣḥãbihī, ṣalla'llãhu ʻalayhi wa ãlihi wa sallam* (A Book on the Excellence of Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him, over the Rest of his [the Prophet's], Companions, may Allãh bless him and his progeny and grant them peace).
79. *Tafḍīlu 'l-aimmah ʻalayhimu 's-salãm ʻala 'l-malãikah* (The Excellence of the Imãms, peace be upon them, over the Angels).
80. *al-Kalãm fi 'l-khabari 'l-mukhtalaq bi ghayri athar* (Discussion of the Possibility of a Tradition being Fabricated Without there being any Trace of its Fabrication).
81. *Jawãbu 'l-masãil fī ikhtilãfi 'l-akhbãr* (Answer to Questions About Contradictions Between *Aḥãdīth*).

6. Answers to Questions:

Here I confine my research to the questions, which were addressed specifically to al-Mufīd and to which he answered, whether the questioner himself had asked them, or someone else who had been asked about them had sent them to him. They are not those questions, which were general points of contention and were not addressed to a specific person. Although the answers to these questions cannot all be counted as coming within the bounds of *kalãm*, most of them have, naturally, the air of controversy, speculation, and refutation of opponents and their arguments.

I have included all of them in this list, because, in the first place, they give evidence of a significant aspect of the character of al-Mufīd and show the extent of the scholarly acclaim and popular authority, which he had, not in the milieu in which he lived and was highly regarded, but in the majority of Islamic countries of that time. Secondly, they indicate the places in which the Imãmī Shīʻah were to be found in those days, and which most of the sources which have reached us have ignored:

1. *Masãilu 'ṣ-Ṣãghãniyyah* (On Questions from Ṣãghãn).

There are answers to a written message sent to him from Ṣãghãn (a small

town near Marw in Khurãsãn, also called Jãghãn [*Mu'jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.3, p.389; *al-Ansãb*, vol.8, p.252; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p.392]). It contains an account of the aspersions cast against the Imãmiyyah and their *fiqh* by a Ḥanafī *faqīh* (printed – see *'Iddat rasãil*, pp.234-42). It begins: "I have come to hear, may Allah perpetuate your renown, of what you quote from a *shaykh* of the upholders of independent reasoning (*aṣḥãbu 'r-ra'y*, followers of the Ḥanafī school of law) in your region; of what he does to provoke enmity towards those close to Allãh (*awliyãu 'llãh*, i.e., the Imãmīs) among them (the Ḥanafites); and the acusation of heresy (indicating *bid'ah*) against them (the Imãmites) in what they follow of the precepts handed down from the Imãms of true guidance, peace be upon them; and that he has made mention of ten matters concerning them in which there are expressions by which slander is intended and by which he judges them to be wrongly guided . . . And you asked in your message after mentioning this . . . that I should notify you of the truth in this matter . . ."

2. *al-Ajwibah 'ani 'l-masãili 'l-Khwãrazmiyyah* (Replies to Questions from Khwãrazm).

(Khwãrazm: A large region in the north of Khurãsãn – the Greater, of those days, not the present Khurãsãn which only represents a small part of it – and east of the river Oxus [*Mu'jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.2, pp.395-8; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp.443, 446-59]).

3. *Jawãbãtu 'l-masãili 'n-Naysãbūriyyah* (Replies to Questions from Naysãbūr).

(Naysãbūr: One of the most well-known towns in Khurãsãn; it is still inhabited and bears the same name.) al-Mufīd mentions it in his *al-Masãilu 's-Sarawiyyah* (*'Iddat rasãil*, p.223).

4. *Jawãbãt Abu 'l-Ḥasan an-Naysãbūrī* (Replies to Abu 'l-Ḥasan an-Naysãbūrī).

This is listed in an-Najãshī, and it may be the same as no.3, which an-Najãshī does not mention.

5. *Jawãbãt ahl Ṭabaristãn* (*Jawãbãtu 'l-masãili 'ṭ-Ṭabariyyah*). (Replies to the People of Ṭabaristãn, or, The Questions from Ṭabaristãn).
6. *Jawãbãtu 'l-masãili 'l-Mãzandarãniyyah* (Replies to Questions from Mãzandarãn). He mentions it in his *al-Masãilu 's-Sarawiyyah* (*'Iddat rasãil*, p.223), and perhaps it is the same as no.5.
7. *Jawãbãt ahl Jurjãn fī taḥrīmi 'l-fuqqã'* (Replies to the Men of Jurjãn Concerning the Prohibition of Beer).
8. *Jawãbãtu 'l-masãili 'l-Jurjãniyyah* (Replies to Questions from Jurjãn).

Not the same as the previous one.

9. *al-Masãilu 's-Sarawiyyah* (On Questions from Sãriyah).

(Sãriyah [called Sãrī today] is the centre of the province of Mãzandarãn.)

(Printed: See *'Iddat rasãil*, pp.207-232). In it he says: "A scroll containing questions reached me from as-Sayyid ash-Sharīf al-Fãḍil, may Allãh lengthen his life . . . I read all of them, and the scroll was too narrow for me to be able to record the answers, so I dictated this in a separate book . . . (The First Question): What does ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd say, may Allãh prolong his survival, His support for him, and his high standing, secure the traces of the religion by protecting his life and refreshing the eyes of the Shī'ah with the prolongation of his brilliant days . . . " All of it is concerned with *kalãm* discussions.

10. *Jawãbãtu 'l-masãili 'sh-Shīrãziyyah* (Replies to Questions from Shīrãz).

The name of this book is given in *adh-Dharī'ah*, (vol.5, p.225) in this form, but al-Mufīd himself indicated the answer to questions which came from Fãrs in *al-Masãilu 's-Sarawiyyah* – see *'Iddat rasãil*, p.223.

11. *Jawãbãtu 'l-masãili 'n-Nawbandjãniyyah* (Replies to Questions from Nawbandjãn).

It is given like this in *adh-Dharī'ah*, (vol.5, p.240). However, in an-Najãshī we find: "Questions coming from Abū 'Abdillãh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn al-Fãrisī, resident at the shrine (the shrine of 'Uthmãn, see below, no.12) in an-Nawbandjãn." *adh-Dharī'ah*, quotes from *Asãmiy-e dihãt-e kishwar* (Names of the villages of the country), p.334; (published by the Iranian Interior Ministry): "Nawbandjãn is today one of the territories of Fasã in the province of Fãrs." See also *Mu'jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.5, p.307; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp.263-5.

12. *Jawãb* (Reply to) *Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn an-Nawbandjãnī* resident at the shrine of 'Uthmãn.

13. *Jawãbãt ahli 'd-Dīnawar* (Replies to the People of Dīnawar) or (*Jawãbãtu 'l-masãili 'd-Dīnawariyyah al-Mãzarãniyyah*) (Replies to Questions from Mãzarãnī people of Dīnawar), according to *adh-Dharī'ah*, (vol.5, pp. 220-1), in which there is an explanation of this naming.

Dīnawar is a town situated in the mountainous area in the west of Iran (al-Jibãl) near present day Kirmanshãh (*Mu'jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.2, pp.545-6; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp.188, 189, 201, 227).

14. (*Jawãbãt*) *al-Masãilu 'l-'Ukbariyyah* (Replies to Questions from 'Ukbarã) = *Jawãbãtu 'l-masãili 'l-Ḥãjibiyyah* (Replies to Questions from al-Ḥãjib) = *Jawãbãt Abi 'l-Layth al-Awãnī* (Replies to Abu 'l-Layth al-Awãnī).

Awãnã is a township in the administrative district of Dujayl which is situ-

ated in the vicinity of ‘Ukbarã (*Mu‘jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.1, pp.274-5; *Marãṣidu 'l-iṭṭilã‘*, vol.1, p.128; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p.50). These are fifty-one questions put forward by al-Ḥãjib Abu 'l-Layth ibn Sirãj al-Awãnī to which al-Mufīd replies. (See *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.5, pp.198, 219, & 228.)

15. *Jawãbãt ahli 'l-Mawṣil fi 'l-‘adad wa 'r-ru'yah* (Replies to the People of Mawṣil on Whether the Beginning of the Month [of *Shawwãl*] is Determined by Calculation [of the 30 days of *Ramaḍãn*] or by Catching Sight of the Crescent Moon) = *Jawãbãtu 'l-masãili 'l-Mawṣiliyyãt* (Replies to Questions from al-Mawṣil). al-Mawṣil is the famous town in Iraq (Mosul).
16. *Jawãbãtu 'l-Fãriqiyyīn fi 'l-ghaybah* (Replies to the Fãriqī People Concerning the Occultation) = *Jawãbãtu 'l-masãili 'l-Mayyãfãriqiyyãt* (Replies to Questions from Mayyãfãriqīn), *adh-Dharī‘ah* (vol.5, p.198).

Mayyãfãriqīn is the most well known town in Diyãr Bakr – al-Jazīrah, whose location is today situated inside the territory of the Republic of Turkey; in those days it was governed by the Ḥamdãnids (*Mu‘jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.5, pp.235-8; *The Lands of he Eastern Caliphate*, pp.111, 112).

17. *Jawãbãtu* (Replies to) *'r-Rafaqī = at-Taraffuqī = al-Burqu‘ī fī furū‘i 'l-fiqh* (Concerning the Precepts of Jurisprudence).

The name in this title has appeared in a variety forms:-

a) "al-Burqu‘ī", in an-Najãshī (Bombay ed.), p.285, (Tehran ed.), p.313. Also in *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.5, p.201; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, p.35, among others.

b) "at-Taraffuqī", in the manuscript of an-Najãshī available in the National Library (Kitãb Khãn-e Milli) of Tabrīz, and in another manuscript in the private library of Fakhru 'd-Dīn Naṣīrī in Tehran. However, even if this copy is correct it should read at-Tarqufī. at-Tarquf was a place in the district of Wãsiṭ near al-Bandanijūn (Mandalī) in Iraq. (See: *Mu‘jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.2, p.23; *Marãṣidu 'l-iṭṭilã‘*, vol.1, p.259.)

c) "ar-Rafaqī", in some readings.

But if this (c) reading is correct, I suppose that he is al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Anbas ibn Mas‘ūd, Abū Muḥammad ar-Rãfiqī (*c.*384/994–485/1092) (see §67), one of those who studied with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd. He lived in ar-Rãfiqah, which is a small town adjoining ar-Raqqah on the bank of the Euphrates. Then the two became one and were called ar-Raqqah. It was in the adminis-trative district (*‘amal*) of al-Jazīrah (Northwest Mesopotamia), and its site is now within the territory of the Republic of Syria (*Mu‘jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.3, pp.15, 58-60; *al-Ansãb*, vol.6, p.42; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp.101-3).

18. *Jawãb ahli 'r-Raqqah fī 'l-ahillah wa 'l-'adad* (Reply to the People of ar-Raqqah about the Crescents and Calculations, [see above no.15]).
19. *al-Masãilu 'l-Ḥarrãniyyah* (On Questions from Ḥarrãn).

Ḥarrãn was a city in the Western part of al-Jazīrah; its site is now in the Republic of Turkey (*Mu'jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.2, pp.235-6; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp.103, 123).

20. *Jawãbãt* (Replies to) *'Alī ibn Naṣr al-'Abdajãnī.*

I have not found any mention of al-'Abdajãnī nor any reference to 'Abdajãn. I strongly suspect that it is a misplacing of diacritical points of al-Ghundajãnī. Ghundajãn was a small town in the province of Fãrs, and it was the birth place of many scholars and men of letters (*Mu'jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.4, p.216; *al-Ansãb*, 411/B, 412/A; as-Sam'ãnī mentions many of them: *al-Lubãb*, vol.2, pp.390-1; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp.260, 268, 294).

21. *ar-Risãlah ila 'l-Amīr Abū 'Abdillãh, wa Abū Ṭãhir, ibnay Nãṣiru 'd-Dawlah fī majlisin jarã fī 'l-imãmah* (Letter to the Amīr Abū 'Abdillãh and Abū Ṭãhir sons of Nãṣiru 'd-Dawlah Concerning a Discussion on the Imãmate [which took place in their presence]).

These two are: Abū 'Abdillãh, al-Ḥusayn ibn Nãṣiru 'd-Dawlah al-Ḥasan ibn Abi 'l-Hayjã' 'Abdullãh ibn Ḥamdãn at-Taghlibī al-Ḥamdãnī (d. 380/990), and his brother, Abū Ṭãhir Ibrãhīm ibn Nãṣiri 'd-Dawlah (d. 381/991). Their father Nãṣiru 'd-Dawlah (d. 358/969), the eldest brother of Sayfu 'd-Dawlah, was the king of al-Mawṣil. (Refer to Dr. Fayṣal as-Sãmir: *ad-Dawlatu 'l-Ḥamdãniyyah*, 2 pts., esp. vol.1, p.270.)

22. *Jawãbãtu* (Replies to) *'l-Amīr Abū 'Abdillãh* (al-Ḥamdãnī).
23. *Jawãbãt* (Replies to) *Ibn Nubãtah*.

We find in *adh-Dharī'ah* (vol.5, pp.196-7), that he is al-Fãriqī, and this is 'Abdu 'r-Raḥīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismã'īl Abū Yaḥyã Ibn Nubãtah (335/946–374/984), the famous man of letters and orator (*al-A'lãm*, vol.4, pp.122-3; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.5, p.211). It is also possible that Ibn Nubãtah is as-Sa'dī, a contemporary of al-Fãriqī whose full name was 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz ibn 'Umar ibn Muḥammad, Abū Naṣr ibn Nubãtah as-Sa'dī at-Tamīmī al-Baghdãdī (327/939–405/1015) (*Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.5, p.255).

24. *Jawãbãt* (Replies to) *an-Naṣr* (an-Naḍr) *ibn Bashīr fī 'ṣ-ṣiyãm* (Concerning Fasting).
25. *Jawãbãt* (Replies to) *Banū 'Arqal*.

This is given in *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.5, p.202. Elsewhere it is difficult to make the title out exactly.

26. *Jawãbãt* (Replies to) *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī* (in *adh-Dharī'ah*, [vol.5, p.197] al-Ḥusaynī).

27. *Jawãbãt* (Replies to) *Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Laythī.*
28. *Jawãbãtu 'sh-Sharqiyyīn fī furū'i 'd-dīn* (Replies to the Eastern on Practical Rules of Religion).
29. *Mas'alat* (On a Question of) *Muḥammad ibn al-Khiḍr al-Fãrisī.*
30. *Jawãbãt* (Replies to) *Ibnu 'l-Ḥammãmī.*

I strongly suspect that this is 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Umar ibn Ḥafs, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥammãmī al-Muqri' al-Baghdãdī (328/939-40–417/1026). The Muqri' (reciter of the Qur'ãn) of Baghdãd and one of the scholars of *ḥadīth* there. He was trustworthy in narration, true in his religion, learned and of correct beliefs (*Tãrīkh Baghdãd*, vol.11, pp.329-30; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.28; *al-Ansãb*, vol.4, p.232; *Tadhkiratu 'l-ḥuffãẓ*, vol.3, p.1073; *Shadharãtu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.208; *Ghãyatu 'n-nihãyah*, vol.1, pp.521-2; *Ma'rifatu 'l-qurrãi 'l-kibãr*, vol.1, pp.302-3). This Ibn al-Ḥammãmī was one of the *shaykh*s of Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī who narrated from him (*al-Amãlī*, vol.1, p.389-91).

31. *Jawãbãtu 'l-Mãfarrūkhī fi 'l-masãīl* (Replies to al-Mãfarrūkhī on Various Matters).
32. *Jawãbãt* (Replies to) *Ibn Wãqid as-Sunnī.*
33. *Jawãbãt* (Replies to) *Abū Ja'far al-Qummī.*
34. *Jawãbãt Abu 'l-Faraj ibn Isḥãq 'ammã yufsidu 'ṣ-ṣalãt* (Replies to Abu 'l-Faraj ibn Isḥãq on What Invalidates the Prayer).
35. *Jawãb* (Reply to) *Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Uthmãn al-Karãjikī*, (see § 122).
36. *Jawãbãt* (Replies to) *Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sibṭ* (the grandson of) *al-Mu'ãfã ibn Zakariyyã fī i'jãzi 'l-Qur'ãn* (Concerning the Imitability of the Qur'ãn).

al-Mu'ãfã ibn Zakariyyã, Abu 'l-Faraj an-Nahrawãnī al-Baghdãdī (303/916–390/1000), *faqīh*, *uṣūlī* (scholar of the principles of Islamic jurisprudence), *mutakallim*, man of letters, poet, grammarian, philologist, historian. He had recorded links with the Imãmī scholars of his time (*al-A'lãm*, vol.8, p.169; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.12, pp.302-3; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.319). I have not come across his grandson, Abu 'l-Ḥasan in the biographies.

[The most important biographies of al-Mufīd are to be found in aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.186-7; an-Najãshī, p.311-6; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, pp.33-38; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, pp.180-1; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, pp.227-36; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.6, pp.153-77; *Rijãl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.3, pp.311-23; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, pp.517-21; Introduction to *Tahdhību 'l-aḥkãm*, vol.1, pp.4-43; *Majãlisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, pp.463-80; Sezgin, I, 549-50, 46; Dominique Sourdel, '*L'Imamisme vu par le Cheikh al-Mufid*', Revue des Études Islamiques, XL (1972), pp.217-96, esp. pp.217-48; Martin

J. McDermott, *The Theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufid*, Beirut, 1978, pp.1-45.]

§145. Muḥammad ibn Muslim, Abū Ja'far ath-Thaqafī al-Kūfī (*c.*80/699–150/767): His biographers say of him: "He was a man of distinction among the Imãmiyyah in our science from Kūfah, a pious man and a jurist. He associated with Abū Ja'far al-Bãqir and Abū 'Abdillãh aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon them both; he related from them many *aḥãdīth*. He was one of the most trustworthy of people." He was one of the six companions of these two Imãms, peace be upon them both, about whom the Shī'ah are agreed concerning the truth of their narrations and whom they have accepted in *fiqh* (see the sources for the biography of Zurãrah).
[al-Kishshī, pp.10, 161-9; an-Najãshī, pp.247-8; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijãl*, pp.135, 300; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.6, pp.47-54; Ibn Dãwūd, p.336; al-'Allãmah al-Ḥillī, pp.149-50; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.333-4; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, pp.193-4; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, pp.184-6; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, pp.278-86.]

We shall mention in a future chapter that Muḥammad ibn Muslim shared Zurãrah's opinion about *istiṭã'ah* (human capacity for action), and it is attributed to him in an extremely weak tradition that he used to say: "Indeed, Allãh knows nothing until it happens." (al-Kishshī, p.169; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, p.53; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.186; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, p.286.) We shall discuss this matter also in that chapter.

§146. Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd ibn Kulthūm al-Marwazī an-Naysãbūrī: ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī and Ibn Shahrãshūb count him among the companions of al-Imãm al-Hãdī, peace be upon him (212/827/–254/868), and they say: "He was a *mutakallim*", (*ar-Rijãl*, p.421; *Manãqib ãl Abī Ṭãlib*, vol.4, p.402; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.50, p.216) and al-Kishshī says: "He was one of the greatest *mutakallim*s in Naysãbūr. He was a Khãrijite who turned to Shī'ism. 'Abdullãh ibn Ṭãhir (ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Khuzã'ī [182/798–230/844] the governor of Khurãsãn; he resided in Naysãbūr until he died) caused trouble for Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd, who argued with him, but he was subsequently allowed to go.
[al-Kishshī, p.545; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, p.216; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.312-3; al-'Allãmah, p.151; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.308-9; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.118; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.120; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, pp.128-9.]

§147. Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb ibn Isḥãq, ash-Shaykh Abū Ja'far al-Kulaynī ar-Rãzī, subsequently **al-Baghdãdī (d. 329/941):** A detailed biography of our Shaykh al-Kulaynī was given in our Introduction to the

English translation of "The Book of Reason and Ignorance" of *al-Kãfī*, and it was pointed out there that he was a man of great knowledge; and that in addition to his knowledge and erudition in *fiqh* and *ḥadīth*, he was a brilliant *mutakallim*, and in this he wrote many works. We can add that the commentaries, which he wrote in "The Book of Divine Unity", of *al-Kãfī*, even though they are brief and only come where they are absolutely necessary, clearly revealed his expertise in *kalãm*.

§148. al-Muẓaffar ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn Ḥamdãn, Abu 'l-Faraj al-Ḥamdãnī al-Qazwīnī: He was trustworthy in *ḥadīth*, socially important, a *faqīh* and a *mutakallim*. He contacted ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd and studied with him; he received his permission to narrate his writings and traditions in 408/1017-8. He took the teaching position of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã and Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī in Baghdad and this must have been after ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī's removal to an-Najaf al-Ashraf. This is therefore no evidence that he studied with them.

ar-Rãfi‘ī mentions in *at-Tadwīn*: "He heard many of the dictated discourses (*al-amãlī*) of al-Qãḍī ‘Abdu 'l-Jabbãr al-Mu‘tazilī (320/932–415/ 1025)."

Among his books are: *al-Ghaybah*, and *al-Minhãj*.

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.266; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.323-4; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.155; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.220; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.18, p.208; *Ḍiyãfatu 'l-ikhwãn*, p.207; *Ṭabaqãt a‘lãmi 'sh-Shī‘ah*, 5th cent., p.193; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.16, p.82; *al-Fawãidu 'r-Raḍawiyyah*, p.666; *Fihrist asmã’ rijãl at-Tadwīn*, p.95; from the Alexandrian manuscript of *at-Tadwīn*, p.490; *Ta‘līqãtu 'n-naqḍ*, vol.1, p.136; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.6, p.54.]

§149. al-Muẓaffar ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, Abu 'l-Jaysh al-Balkhī al-Khurãsãnī al-Baghdãdī (al-Warrãq) (d. 367/977-8): Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī and an-Najãshī say: "He was a very well-known *mutakallim*, and he was knowledgeable in traditions. He was a pupil of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī (see §96)." ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd (the greatest Imãmī scholar of his time; see §144) used to study *ḥadīth* and *kalãm* under him.

Abū Ḥayyãn at-Tawḥidī called him the "*shaykh* of the Shī‘ah" and said: "He was the *mutakallim* of the Shī‘ah (of his time)." (*Akhlãqu 'l-wazīrayn*, pp.203, 206-7.)

He has several writings to his name, including:-

1. *Naqḍu 'l-‘Uthmãniyyah* (Invalidation of the [Book] *al-‘Uthmãniyyah*

[by al-Jãḥiẓ, the Mu‘tazilite]);

2. *ar-Radd ‘alã man jawwaza ‘ala 'l-qadīm ta‘ãlã al-buṭlãn* (Refutation of Whoever Admits that the Eternal, the Exalted, May do Something in Vain);
3. *al-A‘rãḍ wa 'n-nukat fi 'l-imãmah* (General and Specific Points About the Imãmate);
4. *Fa‘alta falã talūm* (lit., You have done [this], so do not blame [others for it]), which is a large book;
5. *Majãlisuhu ma‘a 'l-mukhãlifīn* (His Sessions with Opponents), concerning various topics;
6. *al-Insãn wa annahu ghayru hãdhihi 'l-jumlah* (Man, He is Other than [Merely] this Totality [of Limbs and Organs]). (See under al-Faḍl ibn Shãdhãn [§57], title 11, for an explanation of this title.)

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.198; an-Najãshī, pp.330-1; *Ma‘ãlimu 'l-‘ulamã’*, p.101, 110-1; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, pp.95-96; Ibn Dãwūd, p.437; al-‘Allãmah, p.170; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.346; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.220; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.18, p.208; *Ṭabaqãt a‘lãmi 'sh-Shī‘ah*, 4th cent., p.318; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.2, pp.337-8; vol.10, p.227; vol.16, p.277; vol.24, p.289; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.1, pp.43-44; *Mustadraku 'l-wasãil*, vol.3, p.521; *Hadiyyatu 'l-‘ãrif‘īn*, vol.2, p.463; *Mu‘jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.12, pp.300-1.]

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§150. al-Qãsim ibn al-Khalīl ad-Dimashqī: [His biography has been deleted in the original manuscript.]

§151. Qays al-Mãṣir: Nothing of his biography has been found except what as-Sam‘ãnī has mentioned about him under "al-Mãṣirī" where he names him Qays ibn Abī Muslim al-‘Ajlī al-Mãṣir, and he says: "Abū Muslim was among the prisoners of war from Daylam [the mountainous district in Gilãn bordering on the Caspian Sea]; the people of Kūfah had captured him and his Islam was without reproach. He had a son, Qays al-Mãṣir, and they say that he was the freed-slave (*mawlã*) of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭãlib, peace be upon him, then he appointed him as the *'mãṣir'*, and he was the first man to divide up the lands of the Eauphrates and the Tigris [*mãṣir* means the 'limit' or the 'dividing line', and *maṣara 'l-arḍ* means to 'determine the limits of the land' or to 'draw up boundaries for the land', and Qays drew up boundaries in Mesopotamia and parcelled up the lands on either bank of the two rivers: see *Tãju 'l-‘arūs*, vol.3, pp.543-4; *Lisãnu 'l-‘Arab*, vol.5, pp.175-6 and *Mu‘jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.1, pp.38-39]. Thus Qays was called al-

Mãṣir. He was of those who revolted with ‘Abdu 'r-Raḥmãn ibn al-Ash‘ath in the days of al-Ḥajjãj [ibn Yūsuf; the uprising took place in 81/699–82/700] together with he reciters of the Qur’ãn (*al-qurrã’*), (*al-Ansãb*, B/502; *al-Lubãb*, vol.3, p.149).

Yūnus ibn Ya‘qūb counted Qays al-Mãṣir among the Shī‘ī *mutakallim*[51] who were present at the session of al-Imãm aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon him, where they debated with the *mutakallim* from Shãm. Yūnus says of him: "He was, in my view, the best of them in *kalãm* from ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him. "When the debate had finished, al-Imãm aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon him, turned to Qays al-Mãṣir and said: "You argue so that when you reach nearest to the (meaning of the) traditions of the Messenger of Allãh, the blessing and peace of Allãh be upon him and his Household, you go furthest away from (the meaning of) them. You mix up what is correct with what is incorrect, but a little of what is correct suffices for a lot of what is incorrect. You and al-Aḥwal [Abū Ja‘far Mu’minu 'ṭ-Ṭãq, one of the *mutakallim* present in the session] are very agile and skilful."
[*al-Kãfī*, (Eng. transl.), vol.1, *al-Uṣūl*, pt.2, (4) The Divine Proof (i), pp.12, 16; *al-Wãfī*, vol.2, p.7; *al-Irshãd*, pp.540, 544, (Eng. transl., pp.421, 423); *I‘lãmu 'l-war*, pp.273, 276; *al-Iḥtijãj*, vol.2, pp.123, 125; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.23, pp.10, 13; *ibid.*, vol.48, pp.203, 205; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.2, pp.33-34; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.26; *Ta’sīsu 'sh-Shī‘ah li ‘ulūmi 'l-Islãm*, pp.258-9; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.14, pp.103-4.]

Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalãnī relates from al-Awzã‘ī (‘Abdu 'r-Raḥmãn ibn ‘Umar, 88/707–157/774) that he said: "The first man who used *kalãm* concerning the doctrine of *irjã’* (the doctrine of the Murji‘ites) was a man from the people of Kūfah whom they called Qays al-Mãṣir" (*Tahdhību 't-tahdhīb*, vol.7, p.490). We shall mention when we discuss the Murji‘ites that *irjã’* has many meanings, and that belief in it was widespread among the great Shī‘ī and Sunnī scholars of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* (jurisprudence).

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§152. Sa‘d ibn ‘Abdillãh ibn Abī Khalaf, Abu 'l-Qãsim al-Ash‘arī al-Qummī (d. 301/914): Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He was of a high rank with a wide knowledge of traditions, and wrote much. He is trust-

[51] Originally the word *mutakallim* was used for a person who had the skills, both rhetorical and scholarly, needed for debating or discussing religious matters of all kinds, and *kalãm* was thus his art. In the early stages there is no specific application to purely theological matters.

worthy." an-Najãshī says: "He was a leader of this our sect, a *faqīh* and a distinguished scholar in it." He wrote many books including:-

1. *Maqãlãtu 'l-Imãmiyyah* (Opinions of the Imãmite) or *Firaqu 'sh-Shī'ah* (Sects of the Shī'ah);
2. *aḍ-Ḍiyã' fi 'l-imãmah* (The Brightness in Imãmate);
3. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Muḥammadiyyah wa 'l-Ja'fariyyah* (Refutation of the Muḥammadiyyah and the Ja'fariyyah [two sects of extreme Shī'ī]);
4. *Jawãmi'u 'l-ḥujaj* (The Comprehensive Arguments);
5. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-mujabbirah* (Refutation of the Believers in Predestination); and
6. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-ghulãt* (Refutation of the Extremists).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijãl*, p.475; *al-Fihrist*, pp.101-2; an-Najãshī, pp.133-5; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.47; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.3, pp.105-7; Ibn Dãwūd, p.168; al-'Allãmah, pp.78-79; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.149; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, pp.355-6; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, pp.16-17; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.8, pp.75-81; *al-A'lãm* [3rd ed.], pt.3, pp.135-6; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.4, pp.211-2.]

§153. Salãmah ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismã'īl, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Arzanī al-Qummī al-Baghdãdī (d. 339/950-1): "A *shaykh* from among our co-sectarians, trustworthy and revered." He wrote several books, among which are: *al-Ghaybah wa kashfu 'l-ḥayrah* (The Occultation and the Clarification of Confusion).

Arzan is a town in Diyãr Bakr, and the place where it once stood now falls within the territory of the Republic of Turkey – see *Mu'jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.1, pp.150-1; *al-Ansãb*, vol.1, pp.164; *Marãṣidu 'l-iṭṭilã'*, vol.1, p.55; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p.112.

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.107; *ar-Rijãl*, p.475; an-Najãshī, pp.145-6; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.3, p.138; Ibn Dãwūd, p.175; al-'Allãmah, p.86; *Naḍdu 'l-'īḍãh*, pp.157-8; *Tawḍīḥu 'l-ishtibãh*, p.175; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.156-7; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.370; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.44; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.8, pp.177-8; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.136; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.16, p.83; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.1, p.394.]

§154. Ṣãliḥ Abū Muqãtil ad-Daylamī: an-Najãshī said: "Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn [ibn 'Abdillãh al-Ghaḍãirī] mentioned him, and said that he wrote a large book on the Imãmate, according both to *ḥadīth* and *kalãm*, and he called it *Kitãbu 'l-Iḥtijãj*."

[an-Najãshī, p.198 (#.567); *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.3, p.201; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, 2nd ed., vol.9, p.55.]

§155. Sallãr (the Arabic form of the Persian name Sãlãr, he also had the Arabic name Ḥamzah) ibn'Abdi 'l-'Azīz Abū Ya'lã ad-Daylamī (d. 448/1056): He was a pupil of al-Mufīd (see §144) and ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã (see §39), a *faqīh*, trustworthy in narration, a man of social standing, a foremost expert of the Imãmiyyah in *fiqh*, *kalãm*, literature and other sciences, as described by his biographers. aṣ-Ṣafadī says: "He died in Ṣafar 448 (April – May 1056) at Khusrawshãh, a village near Tabrīz, where he was buried." His tomb is still there today, with people living near it and others visiting it. Some say that he died in Ramaḍãn 463 (June 1071), but I strongly suspect that this is an error arising from a confusion between Abū Ya'lã Sallãr and Abū Ya'lã al-Ja'farī whose biography comes as §128, and that this is the date of the second one's death, as we shall see.

He wrote several books, among which are:-

1. *ar-Radd 'alã Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī fī naqḍi 'sh-Shãfī* (Refutation of Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī Concerning [his] Disproof of [the Book] *ash-Shãfī*).

This was written at the order of his teacher ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã, and refers to al-Qãḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbãr al-Mu'tazilī, the famous *mutakallim* (320/932–415/1025) who wrote the famous encyclopaedic *al-Mughnī fī abwãbi 't-tawḥīd wa 'l-'adl*. The twentieth section of this work is on the Imãmate, and ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã refuted what he said there in his *ash-Shãfī* (130/bk.26). The Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib al-Mu'tazilī al-Ḥanafī (d. 436/1044), a pupil of al-Qãḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbãr, wrote *Naqḍu 'sh-Shãfī fi 'l-imãmah*, (*Sharḥu 'l-'uyūn*, p.387; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, pp.199-200; Ibn Khallikãn, vol.3, p.271; *al-Wãfī bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.4, p.125). Then Sallãr refuted this book of Abu 'l-Ḥusayn's.

2. *at-Tadhkirah fī ḥaqīqati 'l-jawhar wa 'l-'araḍ* (The Reminder Concerning the Truth about Substance and Accident). An error appears in *Īḍãḥu 'l-maknūn* (vol.1, p.275), and *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn* (vol.1, p.380): . . . *fī ḥaqīqati 'l-jawharah*.
3. *Tatmīmu 'l-mulakhkhaṣ fī uṣūli 'd-dīn* (The Completion of "The Summary of the Principles of the Religion"), which is the completion of the book of his teacher ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã (130/bk.1).

[*Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.123; Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist*: *al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.234; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.124, 127-8; Ibn Dãwūd, p.174; al-'Allãmah, p.86; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.156; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.369; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.42; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.8, pp.171-2; *Lu'luatu 'l-baḥrayn*, pp.329-331; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.2, pp.370-3; vol.4, p.299; *Mustadraku 'l-*

wasãil, vol.3, p.496; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.86; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.3, pp.343-4; vol.4, p.24; vol.10, pp.179-80; *Safīnatu 'l-biḥãr*, vol.1, p.639; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt* (on the history of Tabrīz), vol.1, p.543; *Marãqidu 'l-ma'ãrif*, vol.1, pp.357-60; *al-A'lãm*, vol.2, p.278; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.4, p.235, extracted from references such as: *al-Wãfī bi 'l-wafayãt*, vol.14, p.14 (manuscript); *Bughyatu 'l-wu'ãt*, vol.1, p.594; *Īḍãḥu 'l-maknūn*, vol.1, pp.275, 553; *Hadiyyãtu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.1, p.380.]

§156. Suhayl ibn Ziyãd, Abū Yaḥyã al-Wãsiṭī: He was the son of a daughter of Abū Ja'far al-Aḥwal, Mu'minu 'ṭ-Ṭãq (see §121). He met Abū Muḥammad al-'Askarī, peace be upon him (232/846–260/874). an-Najãshī described him with the words "our chief, who was a *mutakallim*".
[an-Najãshī, p.145; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.3, pp.181-2; Ibn Dãwūd, p.361; al-'Allãmah, p.229; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.165; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.394; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, pp.77-78; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.8, pp.358-60.]

§157. Sulaymãn ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaymãn (Salmãn), Niẓãmu 'd-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣahrashtī: He was a *faqīh*, trustworthy (in narration of *ḥadīth*), a prominent religious personality and a *mutakallim*; he studied under ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã, and continued his main studies with ash-Shaykh Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī. He attended the teaching sessions of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã." He wrote books on *kalãm* and *fiqh*.

However, "Ṣahrasht" is in the Daylam region, and it is conceivable that his biographer believed he came from here; or it could be "Ṣahrajt" which are two villages in Egypt, for Yãqūt relates him to one of these referring to something from his poetry (*Mu'jamu 'l-buldãn*, vol.3, p.436; *Marãṣidu 'l-iṭṭilã'*, vol.2, p.858).
[*Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.49; Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.235; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.371; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, pp.128, 129; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.56; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.8, pp.181, 243; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.4, pp.11-13; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.2, pp.434-5; *al-Fawãidu 'r-Raḍawiyyah*, p.203; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.88; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, pp.118-9; vol.17, p.30; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.35, pp.306-10; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ãrifīn*, vol.1, p.397; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.4, p.258.]

T

§158. Taqiyy ibn an-Najm ('Umar) ibn 'Ubaydillãh, Abu 'ṣ-Ṣalãḥ at-Taqiyy al-Ḥalabī (374/984–447/1055): He was a *faqīh*, a *mutakallim*, a man of distinction, trustworthy, of high status (according to what said of

him), one of the greatest students of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã and ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī. He was the leading scholar, *faqīh* and *mutakallim* among the Imãmiyyah in Shãm (Syria). He was the legal representative of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã in the region of Ḥalab (according to ash-Shahīd ath-Thãnī), and also ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã's academic representative (according to ash-Shahīd al-Awwal). He died in Ḥalab. He composed works on *kalãm*, *fiqh* and other subjects, among which are:-

ash-Sharḥu 'dh-dhakhīrah (a *kalãm* text by his teacher, ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã [see §39/bk.2]).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijãl*, p.457; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'* p.25; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.1, p.287; Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, pp.213-4; vol.107, p.198; vol.108, pp.158-9; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.46; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.74-75; al-'Allãmah, p.28; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.62; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.132; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.185; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, p.371; *Lu'luatu 'l-baḥrayn*, pp.332-3; *al-Kunã wa 'l-alqãb*, vol.1, pp.99-100; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.2, pp.111-7; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.14, pp.192-4; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.39; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.13, p.277; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, p.71.]

§159. Thãbit ibn 'Abdillãh ibn Thãbit al-Bunãnī, Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Yashkurī al-Baṣrī: One of the descendants of Thãbit ibn Aslam al-Bunãnī, and one of the *tãbi'īn* (successors to the companions of the Prophet) (d. 127/745), an eminent narrator of *ḥadīth* and man of worship. He is described as "a man of learning and knowledge, a *mutakallim* and trust-worthy". He was a pupil of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍã, and he wrote many books, among which are:-

1. *Minhãju 'r-rashãd fi 'l-uṣūl wa 'l-furū'* (The Way of Good Sense in the Principles and Branches [of Law]).
2. *al-Ḥujjah fi 'l-imãmah* (The Proof Regarding the Imãmate).

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.214; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.139; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.47; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.93; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, p.392; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.41; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.5, p.255; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.15, pp.29-30.]

§160. Thubayt ibn Muḥammad, Abū Muḥammad al-'Askarī 3rd/9th cent.): an-Najãshī says: "He was a skilful *mutakallim* among the Imãmiyyah scholars of the town of al-'Askar (i.e. Sãmarrã', the town near Baghdad), and he was well informed of *ḥadīth*, narrations and *fiqh* . . . Thubayt was of those who narrated from Abū 'Abdillãh, peace be upon him, (aṣ-Ṣãdiq [83/702–148/765]) and the book which is attributed to Abū 'Īsã al-

Warrãq (al-Mu'tazilī [d. 247/861]) concerning the refutation (*naqḍ*) of (the book known as) *al-'Uthmãniyyah* (by al-Jãḥiẓ al-Mu'tazilī [150/767–255/869]) was in fact (written) by him"
[an-Najãshī, p.90; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.1, p.299; Ibn Dãwūd, p.78; al-'Allãmah, p.30; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.64; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, pp.139-40; *Tawḍīḥu 'l-ishtibãh*, p.85; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.194-5; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, 398; *Lisãnu 'l-mīzãn*, vol.2, p.82.]

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§161. 'Ubaydullãh ibn Abī Zayd Aḥmad ibn Ya'qūb ibn Naṣr, Abū Ṭãlib al-Anbãrī al-Wãsiṭī, Ibn 'Abdūn (d. 356/967): One of the Imãmī *mutakallim*s and one of their narrators of *ḥadīth*. an-Najãshī says: "He was a *shaykh* from the people of our sect, trustworthy in *ḥadīth* with a detailed knowledge of them." ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī mentions that he had one hundred and forty books to his name. Among them were:-

1. *at-Tawḥīd wa 'l-'adl wa 'l-imãmah*;
2. *al-Maṭãlibu 'l-falsafiyyah* (Philosophical Problem);
3. *al-Bayãn 'an ḥaqīqati 'l-insãn* (The Elucidation of the Reality of Man);
4. *ash-Shãfī fī 'ilmi 'd-dīn* (The Remedy in Religious Science).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.129; *ar-Rijãl*, pp.481-2; an-Najãshī, pp.173-4; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, pp.66, 69; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.247; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.3, p.258; vol.4, pp.119-20; Ibn Dãwūd, p.196; al-'Allãmah, p.106; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.214-6; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, pp.466-7, 527; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, pp.162-4; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.10, pp.93-97; vol.11, p.69; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.160-1; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.3, p.171; vol.4, p.486; vol.13, p.7; vol.21, p.140; *al-A'lãm*, vol.4, p.343; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.6, p.237.]

§162. 'Ubaydullãh ibn Mūsã ibn Aḥmad, ash-Sharīf Abu 'l-Fatḥ ar-Raḍawī al-Mūsawī: An erudite man, a transmitter of *ḥadīth*, a *mutakallim*, trustworthy and pious. Among his works was *al-Adyãn wa 'l-milal* (Religions and Sects), and al-Mufīd 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmãn an-Naysãbūrī (see §10) narrated from him.
[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥãr*, vol.105, p.244; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, p.530; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.168; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.241; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.11, p.93; *Rawḍãtu 'l-jannãt*, vol.1, pp.43-44; *al-Fawãidu 'r-Raḍawiyyah*, p.262; *Ṭabaqãt a'lãmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.111; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.1, pp.404-5.]

§163. ‘Ulaym ibn Muḥammad, Abū Salamah al-Bakrī ash-Shãshī: an-Najãshī says: "He wrote a book, *at-Tawḥīd*, on *kalãm*. This is a book, which I have not seen, and none of my co-sectarians has told me that he has seen it, but it is mentioned in the *Fihrist*s [which we have]."
[an-Najãshī, p.233; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.4, p.242; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.246; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1 p.611; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.317; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.12, p.267; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.4, 481.]

Y

§164. Yaḥyã ibn Abi 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Abī Ja‘far Aḥmad ibn Zubãrah al-Ḥusaynī, Abū Muḥammad al-‘Alawī az-Zubãrī an-Naysãbūrī (318/930–376/986): A member of the ‘Alawī family who resided in Naysãbūr, and from which came many men of science and letters; it was one of the most famous families of Naysãbūr. as-Sam‘ãnī wrote biographies of many of this family, and in some of their biographies we find that: "He was a believer in the sect of the Imãmī Rãfiḍites."

Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭãifah aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He was of a high rank (among scholars), of great social standing, a skilled *mutakallim*; he lived an ascetic life and was pious." an-Najãshī says: "He was a *faqīh*, a scholar, a *mutakallim*." as-Sam‘ãnī writes in his biography: "He was erudite, ascetic in his life, scholarly." It is narrated that al-Ḥãkim ibn al-Bayyi‘ (the famous Sunnī scholar) said: "The great man, the scholar, the man of letters, the writer, the pious, the devout, he grew up amongst us, and reached the stage he reached, with nothing at variance with Islam being known about him." az-Zabīdī said of him that he was unique in his time. al-Ḥãkim al-Jushamī and Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍã, the Mu‘tazilīs and Zaydīs, mentioned him in the *ṭabaqãt* (chronological biographies) of the Mu‘tazilites, and said: "He was Imãmī, but had tendencies towards *irjã’*." He learnt the science of *kalãm* from Abu 'ṭ-Ṭayyib ar-Rãzī (see §18). Among his writings were:-

1. *at-Tawḥīd wa sãiru abwãbihi* (The Oneness of God and the Other Matters [concerning *tawḥīd*]);
2. *al-Uṣūl* (The Principles);
3. *Kitãb fī ibṭãli 'l-qiyãs* (Book on the Invalidity of Analogical Reasoning [*qiyãs*]);
4. *Kitãb fi 'l-imãmah*. Ibn Shahrãshūb says that he wrote many books about the Imãmate.

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.209; *ar-Rijãl*, p.518; an-Najãshī, p.345, (he mentions him in two places); *Ma‘ãlimu 'l-‘ulamã’*, p.118; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, pp.

264-5; Ibn Dãwūd, p.376; al-‘Allãmah, p.182; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, p.374; *Jãmi‘u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, p.339; *Amalu 'l-ãmil*, vol.2, p.346; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.319; *Ṭabaqãt a‘lãmi 'sh-Shī‘ah*, 4th cent., pp.332-3; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.1, pp.70-71; vol.2, pp.174-6, 339; vol.4, pp.485-6; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.20, p.37-38; *al-Ansãb*, vol.6, pp.249-50; *al-Lubãb*, vol.2, pp.56-57; *Talkhīs tãrīkh Naysãbūr li 'l-ḥãkim*, p.112; *Sharḥu 'l-‘uyūn* (see *Faḍlu 'l-i‘tizãl*, p.378); *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.196; *Tãju 'l-‘arūs*, vol.3, p.233; *Tabṣīru 'l-muntabih*, vol.2, p.652.]

§165. Yūnus ibn ‘Abdi 'r-Raḥmãn, Abū Muḥammad al-Yaqṭīnī al-Kufī, subsequently **al-Baghdãdī (*c.*125/742–208/823-4):** It is said of him: "He was a distinguished man and foremost among the Imãmiyyah in our science; his rank was great, he was trustworthy; he saw al-Imãm aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon him, but he did not narrate from him. He narrated from Abu 'l-Ḥasan Mūsã and ar-Riḍã, peace be upon them both: and ar-Riḍã, peace be upon him, used to single him out for his knowledge and his opinions in *fiqh*." [Ibn] an-Nadīm said: "He was the most learned of his time, he wrote many literary works and compositions according to Shī‘ī opinions." He was one of the six companions of al-Kãẓim and ar-Riḍã, peace be upon them both, about whom the Imãmiyyah writers are agreed in certifying what is certified of them, in testifying to their truthfulness, and in establishing their position in *fiqh* and other kinds of knowledge. Yūnus was one of the two persons who were most knowledgeable in *fiqh* out of these six. (al-Kishshī, p.556; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.1, pp.286-7; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.384-5; and also the sources for the biography of Yūnus.)

Yūnus was among the distinguished Imãmiyyah *mutakallim*s and he was the successor of Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam in *kalãm* and philosophical speculation (*naẓar*). (al-Kishshī, p.259; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.5, p.24; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.115; *Mu‘jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.13, p.317; vol.19, p.353.)

There was a group of Shī‘ah whom Hishãm and Yūnus trained and taught in *kalãm* (al-Kishshī, p.498; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.2, p.34). al-Ash‘arī and ash-Shahrastãnī count him among the Imãmite *mutakallim*s, and among their authors. More than thirty books of his are recorded, among them: *Kitãbu 'l-Badã’* (Book on God's Annulin and Establishing What He Wills), *Kitãbu 'l-Imãmah* (Book on the Imãmate) and other books on *tafsīr* (Qur’ãnic commentary), *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, and history.

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.211-2; *ar-Rijãl*, pp.364, 394-5; al-Kishshī, pp.483-500; an-Najãshī, pp.348-9; *Ma‘ãlimu 'l-‘ulamã’*, p.119; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.276; *Majma‘u 'r-rijãl*, vol.6, pp.293-307; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.380-1; al-‘Allãmah,

pp.184-5; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.381-2; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.2, pp.356-7; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.3, pt.1, pp.338-43; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.20, pp.235-59; *A'yãnu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.56, pp.101-13; al-Ash'arī, *Maqãlãtu 'l-Islãmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.127, ash-Shahrastãnī, *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, p.190.]

Z

§166. Zurãrah ibn A'yan, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ash-Shaybãnī al-Kūfī (*c.*60/ 680–150/767): The most famous of the narrators of the traditions of the *Ahlu 'l-Bayt*, peace be upon them, and depositories of their knowledge. He was younger than his brother Ḥumrãn (see §14), and some say he died in 148/765.

Zurãrah was a companion of the Imãms al-Bãqir and aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon them both, and he narrated from them a great number of *ḥadīth*, and was even counted as one of their closest followers. an-Najãshī says: "He was the leader of the Imãmiyyah scholars of our science in his time and the foremost among them; he was a reciter, a jurist, a *mutakallim*, a poet, a man of letters, who gathered together in himself the good qualities of erudition and religion; he was trustworthy and truthful in what he narrated." And nearly all his biographers relate the same information about him and are in agreement with an-Najãshī over it, even exceeding his description. (Ibn) an-Nadīm said: "Zurãrah was the greatest of the Shī'ī scholars in *fiqh* and *ḥadīth*, in knowledge of the art of *kalãm*, and in the matters of the Shī'ī faith (*tashayyu'*)." Abū Ghãlib az-Zurãrī said: "He was a disputatious adversary [in debate], and no-one could stand up to his proofs; however, his acts of worship kept him from *kalãm* (i.e. speaking or holding discourse with others on matters of doctrine). The *mutakallim* among the Shī'ah were his pupils." (*Risãlah Abū Ghãlib*, under 'Ãl A'yan', pp.27-28; al-Baḥrãnī, *al-Kashkūl*, vol.1, p.186; *Rijãl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.2, pp.232-3.) Also Jamīl ibn Darrãj (a famous Imãmite scholar) said: "By Allãh, we were never around Zurãrah ibn A'yan but that it was the same situation as students in the Qur'ãnic school around their teacher." (See Zurãrah's biographers.)

It is enough as description of Zurãrah's position, and it suffices us as evidence of his position among the Shī'ah and the followers of the Imãms of the *Ahlu 'l-Bayt*, peace be upon them, that he was one of the six companions of the Imãms al-Bãqir and aṣ-Ṣãdiq, peace be upon them both, whom the Shī'ah all agree to have been faithful narrators of their *ḥadīth* and whom they accept in matters of *fiqh*, and they have all agreed that Zurãrah was the one with the deepest knowledge of *fiqh* among these six, (al-Kishshī, p.238; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.1, pp.284-5; Ibn Dãwūd, p.384; Ibn Shahrãshūb, *al-Manãqib*, vol.4,

p.211; *al-Biḥãr*, vol.46, p.345; and also the sources for the biography of Zurãrah). ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī said: "Zurãrah wrote many works."

He is also mentioned concerning beliefs in *Kitãbu 'l-Istiṭã'ah wa 'l-jabr* (Book of the Human Capacity for Action and Determinism).

[For the biography of Zurãrah see al-Kishshī, pp.10, 133-60; an-Najãshī, pp.132-3; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.100, *ar-Rijãl*, pp.123, 201, 350; *Ma'ãlimu 'l-'ulamã'*, p.46; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.276; *Majma'u 'r-rijãl*, vol.3, pp.25-51; Ibn Dãwūd, pp.155-7; al-'Allãmah al-Ḥillī, p.76; *Naqdu 'r-rijãl*, pp.136-7; *Jãmi'u 'r-ruwãt*, vol.1, pp.324-5; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqãl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.438-46; *Mu'jam rijãli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.7, pp.218-60; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.27.]

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الكافي

AL-KĀFĪ

1) CAUTION

2) A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE FOURTEEN INFALLIBLES: THE HOLY PROPHET, HIS DAUGHTER AND THE TWELVE HOLY IMÃMS

3) LIST OF TECHNICAL TERMS AND SPECIAL SIGNS USED IN THE TRADITIONS.

CAUTION

I – Wherever the author (al-Kulaynī) says in the book of *al-Kãfī* "A group of our associated", quoting from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Īsã, the Group here means the following five persons: -

1. Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyã al-‘Aṭṭãr al-Qummī;
2. ‘Alī ibn Mūsã ibn Ja‘far al-Kamandãnī;
3. Abū Sulaymãn Dãwūd ibn Kawrah al-Qummī;
4. Abū ‘Alī Aḥmad ibn Idrīs ibn Aḥmad al-Ash‘arī al-Qummī; and
5. Abu 'l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Ibrãhīm ibn Hãshim al-Qummī.

II – Wherever the author (al-Kulaynī) says in the book of *al-Kãfī* "A group of our associates", quoting from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khãlid al-Barqī, the Group here means the following four persons:-

1. Abu 'l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ib Ibrãhīm ibn Hãshim al-Qummī;
2. Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillãh ibn Udhaynah;
3. Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdillãh ibn Umayyah; and
4. ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn as-Sa‘d-Ãbãdī.

III – Wherever the author (al-Kulaynī) says in the the book of *al-Kãfī* "A group of our associates", quoting from Sahl ibn Ziyãd, the Group here means the following four person:-

1. Abu 'l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrãhīm ibn Abãn ar-Rãzī, who is renowned with ‘Allãn al-Kulaynī;
2. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Abī ‘Abdillãh Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Awn al-Asadī al-Kūfī, resident of Ray;
3. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Farrūkh aṣ-Ṣaffãr al-Qummī; and
4. Muḥammad ibn ‘Aqīl al-Kulaynī.

IV – Wherever the author (al-Kulaynī) says in the book of *al-Kãfī* "A Group of our associates", quoting from Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad who quoted from al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Faḍḍãl, one of them is, Abū ‘Abdillãh al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Imrãn ibn Abī Bakr al-Ash‘arī al-Qummī.

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A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE FOURTEEN INFALLIBLES
THE HOLY PROPHET, HIS DAUGHTER AND THE TWELVE HOLY IMĀMS

NOTE: Where there are differences of opinion on the dates of birth or death, the most popular view has been quoted.

Sl. No.	Designation	Agnomen *(Kunyah)*	Name	Father's Name	Title *(Laqab)*	Date of Birth	Date of Death	Martyred by Means of	Place of Burial
1.	The Last Prophet of Allāh.	Abu 'l-Qāsim	Muḥammad (Aḥmad) (al-Muṣṭafā)	'Abdullāh,	Rasūlu 'llāh, Nabiyyu 'llāh, an-Nabiyy, Khātamu 'n-Nabiyyīn	17th Rabī' I, in the Year of Elephant, (25/8/570 AD).	28th Ṣafar, 11 AH, (25/5/632 AD).	Natural	Holy Madīnah, al-Munawwarah, Saudi Arabia.
2.	One of the Fourteen Infallibles.	Umm Abīhā	Fāṭimah	Muḥammad	az-Zahrā', aṣ-Ṣiddīqah, al-Batūl, Sayyidatu 'n-Nisā'.	20th Jumādā II, in the fifth year after the declaration of the Prophethood, (2/1/615 AD).	3rd Jumādā II, 11 AH, (26/8/632 AD).	Injured	Holy Madīnah, Saudi Arabia.
3.	1st Imām	Abu 'l-Ḥasan, Abu 'l-Ḥasanayn, Abū Turāb.	'Alī	Abū Ṭālib	Amīr al-Mu'minīn, al-Waṣiyy, al-Murtaḍā, (Ḥaydar).	13th Rajab, 10 years before the declaration of the Prophethood, (25/5/600 AD).	Struck on 19th Ramaḍān (25th January); died on 21st Ramaḍān 40 AH, (27/1/661 AD).	Sword – while he was engaged in prayers.	Holy an-Najaf al-Ashraf, Iraq. (al-Ghariyy)`.
4.	2nd Imām	Abū Muḥammad	al-Ḥasan	'Alī	al-Mujtabā, as-Sibṭ (al-Akbar).	15th Ramaḍān. 3 AH, (1/3/625 AD).	7th Ṣafar, 50 AH, (6/3/670 AD).	Poison	Holy Madīnah, Saudi Arabia.
5.	3rd Imām	Abū 'Abdillāh	al-Ḥusayn	'Alī	Sayyidu 'sh-Shuhadā', as-Sibṭ (al-Aṣghar).	3rd Sha'bān, 4 AH, (8/1/626 AD).	10th Muḥarram, 61 AH, (10/10/680 AD).	Sword – in the Battle of 'Āshūrā.	Holy Karbalā' (aṭ-Ṭaff), Iraq.
6.	4th Imām	Abū Muḥammad	'Alī	al-Ḥusayn	Zaynu 'l-'Ābidīn, Sayyidu 's-Sājidīn, as-Sajjād.	5th Sha'bān, 38 AH, (6/1/659 AD).	25th Muḥarram, 94/95 AH, (31/10/712 or 20/10/713AD).	Poison	Holy Madīnah, Saudi Arabia.

7.	5th Imām	Abū Ja‘far	Muḥammad	‘Alī	al-Bāqir	3rd Ṣafar, 57 AH, (16/12/676 AD).	7th Dhi ′l-ḥijjah, 114 AH, (28/1/733 AD).	Poison	Holy Madīnah, Saudi Arabia.
8.	6th Imām	Abū ‘Abdillāh, Abū Mūsā.	Ja‘far	Muḥammad	aṣ-Ṣādiq	17th Rabī‘ I, 83 AH, (20/4/702 AD).	25th Shawwāl, 148 AH, (14/12/765 AD).	Poison	Holy Madīnah, Saudi Arabia.
9.	7th Imām	Abu ′l-Ḥasan (*al-Awwal* = The First), Abū Ibrāhīm.	Mūsā	Ja‘far	al-Kāẓim, al-‘Abdu ′ṣ-Ṣāliḥ, al-‘Ālim.	7th Ṣafar, 129 AH, (28/10/746 AD).	25th Rajab, 183 AH, (1/9/799 AD).	Poison	Holy al-Kāẓimiyyah, Iraq.
10.	8th Imām	Abu ′l-Ḥasan (*ath-Thānī* = The Second).	‘Alī	Mūsā	ar-Riḍā	11th Dhi ′l-qi‘dah,148 AH, (29/12/765 AD).	17th Ṣafar, 203 AH, (24/8/818 AD).	Poison	Holy Mashhad, (Ṭūs – Khurāsān), Iran.
11.	9th Imām	Abū Ja‘far (*ath-Thānī* = The Second).	Muḥammad	‘Alī	at-Taqī, al-Jawād.	10th Rajab, 195 AH, (8/4/811 AD).	30th Dhi ′l-qi‘dah, 220 AH, (25/11/835 AD).	Poison	Holy Kāẓimiyyah, Iraq.
12.	10th Imām	Abu ′l-Ḥasan (*ath-Thālith* = The Third).	‘Alī	Muḥammad	an-Naqī, al-Hādī.	2nd Rajab, 212 AH, (27/9/827 AD).	3rd Rajab, 254 AH, (28/6/868 AD).	Poison	Holy Sāmarrā’ (Surra-man-ra’ā) Iraq.
13.	11th Imām	Abū Muḥammad	al-Ḥasan	‘Alī	al-‘Askarī	8th Rabī‘ II, 232 AH, (3/12/846 AD).	8th Rabī‘ I, 260 AH, (1/1/874 AD).	Poison	Holy Sāmarrā’, Iraq.
14.	12th Imām	Abu ′l-Qāsim	Muḥammad	al-Ḥasan	al-Mahdī, al-Qāim, al-Ḥujjah, al-Ghāib, Ṣāḥibu ′z-Zamān, Ṣāḥibu ′l-Amr, al-Muntaẓar.	15th Sha‘bān, 255 AH, (29/7/869 AD).	Still alive, but in occultation.	– – –	– – –

LIST OF
Technical terms and special signs used in the Traditions

أخبرنا - انبأنا	=	that is: "informed us" or "told us".
روى	=	that is: "narrated to us".
حدّثنا	=	that is: "related" or "reported to us".
رفعه – يرفعه	=	that is: a narrator mentions the name/s of persons/s from whom he narrated, but the later narrator/s omit his/their names.
عن = (–)	=	that is: "quoted from", signified by the signs (–).
مرسلاً – ارسله	=	that is: quoting (a Tradition) from the Prophet or Imãm without describing the linking sources between the narrator and the Prophet or Imãm.
*	=	that is: starting of a new chain of narration.
صلّى الله عليه وآله وسلّم	=	that is: peace and blessing of Allãh be upon him (the Prophet) and his progeny (p.b.u.h.a.h.p.).
عليه/عليها السّلام	=	that is: peace be upon him/her (p.b.u.h.).
عليهم/عليهما السّلام	=	that is: peace be upon them (p.b.u.t.).

كتاب التوحيد

The Book of DIVINE UNITY

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In the Name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful

1

CHAPTER ON

ORIGINATION (*AL ḤUDŪTH*) OF THE UNIVERSE AND PROOFS OF ITS ORIGINATOR

213–1. Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn Ya‘qūb (the compiler) said, ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hāshim informed me (*ḥaddathanī*) saying (–) his father (–) al-Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm (–) Yūnus ibn ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān (–) ‘Alī ibn Manṣūr as saying :

"Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam told me, 'There was an atheist (*zindīq*) in Egypt to whom had reached some reports about Abū ‘Abdillāh peace be upon him). The atheist came to Medina to have debate with him (the Imām), but the Imām was not available in Medina and he was informed that the Imām had gone to Mecca. He then proceeded to Mecca. The atheist

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met us when we (the narrator and his associates) were in the company of Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.), making the circumambulation of the Ka‘bah (the House of Allāh) along with Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.). The name of the atheist was ‘Abd al-Malik and his surname was Abū ‘Abdillāh. The atheist jostled the Imām’s shoulder with his own. Upon this Abū ‘Abdillāh inquired about his name. The atheist replied, 'My name is ‘Abd al-Malik (i.e., the slave of the king).' The Imām then inquired: 'What is your surname?' The atheist replied, 'My surname is Abū ‘Abdillāh (i.e., the father of slave of Allāh).' Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) inquired further, 'Who is the king whose slave you are? Is he amongst the kings of the earth or amongst the kings of heaven? And let me know about your son whether he is the slave of the god of heaven or the slave of the god of earth? Whichever reply you give, you stand defeated.'

"Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam (the narrator) says, 'I intervened and asked the atheist: 'Why are you not replying to the Imām?' These words of mine proved distasteful to the atheist. On this Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.), asked him, 'Come to us after completion of the circumambulation (of the Ka‘bah).' When Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) had made the circumambulation, the atheist came and sat before Abū ‘Abdillāh, and we all gathered around him (the Imām). Abū ‘Abdillāh addressed the atheist, 'Do you know there is something beneath the earth and there is something above the earth?' The

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atheist replied, 'Yes.' The Imām inquired, 'Have you ever been beneath the earth?' The atheist replied, 'No.' The Imām inquired, 'What do you think lies beneath the earth?' The atheist replied, 'I know nothing about it, but I guess there is nothing beneath the earth.' Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) inquired, 'But a guess denotes (your) weakness since you are not sure.' Then Abū ‘Abdillāh further inquired, 'Have you ever ascended to the heavens?' The atheist replied, 'No.' (The Imām) asked, 'Do you know what lies in the heavens?' He replied, 'No.' At this, the Imām said, 'How strange it is that you have neither reached to the east or the west, neither descended to the earth nor ascended to the heavens? Never have you passed the boundaries so that you could know what creations lies beyond, and yet you deny the existence of whatever may lie there. Does any wise man deny the existense of what he does not himself know?' The atheist admitted, 'No one except you has ever talked to me like that.' Abū ‘Abdillāh inquired further, 'You are still in doubt about this matter; it may be thus, or it may not be thus.' The atheist replied, 'Perhaps it is so.' Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) said, 'O´ man! he who does not know, cannot stand in argument against the one who knows. Ignorance carries no authority. O´ Egyptian brother! take it from me for we never had the slightest doubt in (the existence of) Allāh.

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Don't you see that the sun, the moon, the night and the day are constrained to depend on rotation? Without any doubt, they are under a compulsion to make their rounds. So helpless are they that they are not at liberty to change even their location. If they (the sun and the moon) had the power to change their location, then why do they return to the same route (in their rounds)? If they were not under complusion, then why has the day not become night and the night day? By Allāh, O´ Egyptian brother! they are under strict compulsion (to remain steadfast in their routine). And the One Who has forced them (into this routine) has surpreme authority over them!' The atheist replied, 'You are right.' Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) added, 'O´ Egyptian brother! you are under a delusion when you guess that it is nature (which controls the universe). If it were nature which does away with people, then why does she not bring them back to life? And if she brings them back to life, why does she do away with them? (If all the cycle of life and death follows the operation of a natural, mechanical and non-conscious process, then from where does the unchanging uniformity and its inflexible order arise from?). O´ Egyptian brother! why has the sky been raised and the earth so spread out? Why do not the heavens come crushing down to the earth, why does the earth not drift from its position, and why does it not soar upwards to the higher stars so as to be joined with them and with what

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is on them?' The atheist exclaimed, 'They are being held in their position by Allāh, their Nourisher and their Lord!' (The narrator) says, 'The atheist started believing (in God) at the hands of Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b. u.h.). Thereupon Ḥumrān ibn A‘yan said, 'May I sacrifice myself upon you! atheists are becoming converted at your hands just as the infidels become converted at the hands of your father (the Holy Prophet). The (newly converted) believer – the previous atheist, who became converted at the hands of Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) requested the Imām, 'Would you accept me as your disciple and student?' Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.), replied, 'O´ Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, (the learned student of the Imām) take him along with yourself and teach him well!' Hishām, taught him so well that he then became an instructor in faith for the people of Syria (ash-Shām) and Egypt, and got himself so highly refined (in his faith) that Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) was highly pleased with him.''

214–2. A group of our associates (–) Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khālid (–) Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī (–) ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Hāshim (–) Aḥmad ibn Muḥsin al-Mithamī as saying:

"I was in the company of Abī Mansur al-Mutaṭabbib (physician), when he said: 'One of my associates related to me saying, 'I and Ibn Abi '1-‘Awjā’ (‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā’ was one of the well-known

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atheists at the time of al-Imām Ja‘far aṣ-Ṣādiq [p.b.u.h.] and the student of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri, but he deviated from the Unity of Allāh, and it is said that he was killed during the reign of al-Manṣūr [95/714 – 158/775] , the ‘Abbāsid Caliph for this very reason) and ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Muqaffa‘ ([106/724 – 142/759] the famous writer and translater of books of Logic and Philosophy into Arabic who was accused of atheism and killed) were in the sacred mosque (of Mecca), when Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, pointing with his hand to the place where people were circumambulating (the Ka‘bah – the House of Allāh) said, 'Do you see the large number of people? On none of them can the lable of "human being" be attached, except on the man sitting over there, that is, Abū ‘Abdillāh Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad (peace be upon him). The rest of the people are mere riff-raff and just animals.' Ibn Abi’ l-‘Awjā’ inquired, 'On what grounds have you termed this man as the only human being, ignoring all the others?' Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ replied, 'It is because I have seen in him something which I have not seen in those people.' Ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjā’ addressed Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ and said, 'It is now essential that what you have said about that person should be put to the test.' (The narrator) said Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ addressed (Ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjā’) saying, 'Do not do it. I fear that in doing so you may lose what you have already got in your hands.' Ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjā’ replied, 'This is not truly what you have in your mind. You really fear that your high opinion about that person and the high esteem in which you hold him, will topple down before

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me.' Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ replied, 'If you accuse me of this (fear) then stand up and go to him and guard yourself as much as you can against committing errors. Do not let the reins slip out of your hands in speaking freely, lest you be tied up in knots. Point out what is with you and what is not with you (i.e., what you agree with and what you do not agree with). The narrator says, 'Ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjā’ stood up (to go to the Imām) while I and Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ remained sitting. When Ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjā’ returned to us, he started speaking, 'Woe unto you O´ Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, the person is no human. If there is, in this world, an angelic spirit who can appear in corporate form whenever he wishes and return to his spiritual form whenever he wishes, that one must be this same noble spirit.' Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ asked, 'How is that?' In reply he said, 'I took my seat before him. When everyone had left except myself, he (the Imām) started speaking without my asking anything). 'If the truth were as these people circumambulating the Ka‘bah (Muslim believers) say, and (in fact) it is as they say, then eternal peace is on their side, while you people (the atheists) are casualties. But if the truth were as you say though it is certainly not as you say, then you and they are on the same level as each other.' I replied to him (the Imām), 'May Allāh have mercy on you, what is it that we say and what is it that they say? My saying and their saying is but one.' Thereupon the Imām said, 'How can your words and their words be one and the same? Since they say, they have

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to return (to the life hereafter) and for them is the divine reward (for their good deeds) and punishment (for their bad deeds). And they have their belief in religion which says that there is Allāh in the heaven and there are inhabitants in it. On the other hand, you (atheists) think that the heaven is desolate and there is none in it.' Ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjā’ says, 'I took this as an opportunity and remarked, 'If the truth is what these people (believers) say (that there is Allāh) then what prevents Him (Allāh) from making an appearance before the people and from inviting them (directly) to worship Him? Had this been done, then not even two persons would have been there to disagree on this very issue. Why did He remained hidden from the people and send His messengers to them? If He Himself carried out (His mission) it would have been extremely effective in ensuring the people's belief in Him.' He (the Imām) replied me, 'Woe unto you, how does He remain hidden from you when He has Himself demonstrated His power in your own person: bringing you into being when you did not exist, then raising you from childhood to old age, making you strong after your weakness, rendering you weak after your strength, make you sick after your health, giving you health after your sickness, making you happy after making you angry, making you angry after making you happy, grieving you after delighting you, delighting you after grieving you, giving you love after their hostility, giving you hostility after their love, giving you determination

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after deliberation, giving you deliberation after the determination, giving you appetite after satiation and surfeit after your appetite, giving you longing after your disgust and disgust after longing, making you hopeful after frustration and frustrated after your hopefulness. He puts into your mind what you cannot even dream of, and effaces what is firmly embedded in your mind.' Then the Imām continued enumerating the powers of Allāh which are manifest in my being and which I could not deny until I felt I had been over.whelmed in the debate held between us.'"

215–3. Some of our associates (*rafa'ahu*) have added to this anecdote of Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' when Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) inquired from him the said questions (to convince him). They said that on the next day too, Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' attended the session of Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.). He attended the session and remained silent throughout, without speaking and passing any remarks. At this Abū 'Abdillāh said to him, "Have you perhaps come to continue that same discussion of ours?" He replied, "Yes, O´ son of the Messenger of Allāh, I had intended to do so." Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.), addressed him thus: "How strange it is that you deny the existence of Allāh and at the same time you bear witness to my being the son of the Messenger of Allāh! He replied, "That was done through force of habit." The 'Ālim (the Imām, Abū 'Abdillāh) further inquired, "Then what prevented you

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from speaking?" He replied, "It was due to awe and reverence for you that I felt myself tongue-tied. I have seen many of the great scholars and had opportunities to debate with the great theologians (of the time), but never have I been so awe-struck, as I was in your presence." The Imām said, "May be it is like that, but now I shall take the initiative in asking you a question. Be attentive." Then the Imām turned towards him and put a question saying, "Were you created or were you not created?" ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjā’ replied, "I was not created." The ‘Ālim asked him, "Describe for me how you would have been if you had been created." Hearing this, ‘Abd al-Karīm was struck dumb for a long while and was confounded, and he did not make any answer. He kept on playfully handling his stick which was before him, while he said, "Long, broad, deep, small, dynamic and static, these are all the attributes of the created." Thereupon, the ‘Ālim said, "If you do not know the attributes of the created other than the ones you have described, then confess yourself to be one created, since you find all these attributes within yourself." Thereupon ‘Abd al-Karīm replied, "You have asked me a question which none has asked me before. Nor will any one ask me a question like this after you." Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.), further inquired, "Granting that you know that none has asked you a question like this in the past, how do you know that you will not be asked a question like

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this in the future? In addition to this, O´ ‘Abd al-Karīm, you have yourself destroyed your own stand, since you assume all things to be completely equal ever since their origin. Then, how did you put some thing first and the other thing after?" Then the Imām added, "O´ ‘Abd al-Karīm I will add some more explanation (to make the matter clear) . Suppose you have got a bag full of jewels, and someone asks you whether there is any gold in the bag and you deny that there is any gold in the bag. The man again asks you, 'Describe to me the characteristics of gold' when you know nothing about the gold. Would it be proper for you to deny that there is gold in the bag while you know nothing about it?" He replied, "No, it would not be proper for me." Thereupon, Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) said, "This universe is much greater, much vaster, much broader than the bag. Hence it is quite possible that in such a vast universe there may exist a created thing, and that you know nothing about it because you are not aware of the attributes of the created, and about its attributes as distinct from (those of) another one, non-created one." ‘Abd al-Karīm was completely silenced. At this, some of his companions accepted Islam while some other remained with him.

‘Abd al-Karīm came to the Imām on the third day and said, "Can I change the question?" Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) replied, "Ask whatever you like." "What is the proof for the origination of (material) bodies after non-

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being?" The Imām replied, "I do not find anything, small or big, except that mixing it with something similar to it makes it bigger. In this lies its cessation and the shift from its original state. If the thing had been eternal, there would have been neither such cessation, nor any shift. Because it is quite proper for a thing which can cease or shift from one state to another to exist (first) and then to be obsolete (null and void). Thus, (coming into) existence of a thing, after its non-existence before, has an element of later occurrence in it. And its existence in eternity was nothing but its non-existence. Thus, the attributes of eternity, non-entity, later occurrence, and antiquity can never be collected in one and the same thing." Thereupon ‘Abd al-Karīm said, "I agree with you that from these two states (smallness and bigness) and two periods (nothingness and later occurrence) which occur to all bodies, you know that there is a later occurrence, as you have proved in your agrument. But suppose that all things remain in their smallness (without any cessation or shift occurring to them), how would you then prove their later occurrence?" The ‘Ālim replied, "We are talking in the context of this universe. If we set aside this universe, and put another universe in its place, that universe proves it in a far better way than (the theory of) later occurrence. But now I give a reply with the same indispensable supposition and imaginning which you have yourself adopted. We say, if all things

Ž ş ЭõǗ ȷȦõ ¢ŸǯȠ ŵöä ǜȉ ȴȑ ŵϘȠ ¢φǗ ȴŁɀöä Ž ȷȦȮö ȦŁȀ8ȍ ŵŸȝ ǨȠäấ ɀö
Ȭö ȄǼö ϙǼΣä Ž ¢öɀǹấ ȻǨǼ8ǩ Ž ȷǗ ȦȶȭǾ ȳǼȪöä ȸȠ ¢ǱşȀǹ ¢ǼŸȝ ǨǼ8Ϙöä ȁäɀǱ
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ȸäǣ ǰǗ :¢ϘǶǼȉ ȐǶǣ ¢ö ȯȦȪɀ ȳȀΣä Ž ¢ǶȠ ŵȪϘöä ȪǣȦȪöä ȳȦǶöä Ž ȷȦõ ȦȶŸɀ
ȦȶŸɀ ȖȴŸȆǢɍ ǕȬöǣ ȸȠ ŵȶȝǗ ɀŁ :ﷺȴǿȦǶöä ȯȦȪɀ .ȴŸȅǗ Ǽȩ ǒȦǱɀǶöä ŸǗ
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ş ȨŸΣä ş ȷɀȀɘä ȸȠ ¢Ǽɀ ȃȦȀöä Ȧȵ ȀŢȀȀö ş ǼŸǤöä ǦǢȅ ş ǼȆɘä ǥấȝ :ȯȦȪɀ ŸȜȑɀȶä
ȖȻȀȮöä ǼǤȝ ȀȀ ȬöŸȑş ȭɀϘȝ ŵŸȝ ǼǶǣ ǨφǗ :ﷺɃȦǶöä ¢ö ȯȦȪɀ ŸǥǿȦǱΣä Ʉȵǿ
ȷǗ :ȯȦȩ ş ȻǼȀ ȸȠ ¢ǝấǿ ȐȀφ ş ȷΣä Ž ȯäǼǱ ɍ :ﷺ ¢ö ȯȦȪɀ ȴȪȮϘȀ ǼŁǾɀ

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remain small (all the time), and we, in our imagination, mix one thing with another like it, it becomes greater (in the world of our imagination), and this possibility of change does away with its being eternal. In the same way, its alteration puts it in the (category of the things of) later occurrence. After this, O´ ‘Abd al-Karīm, there is nothing left more for you to say." At this (reply) he was completely silenced, repudiated and humiliated.

The next year Ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjā’ met the Imām in al-Haram – the House of Allāh – and one of the followers of the Imām informed him that Ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjā’ had accepted Islam. The ‘Ālim (Imām) remarked, "He has too much of a blind spot against Islam to accept it." When he saw the ‘Ālim he addressed him, "My Master and my chief." Thereupon the ‘Ālim inquired, "What has brought you here?" He replied, "Force of habit, the tradition of the country, and the desire to witness the spectacle of the people’s mid-summer madness, the shaving of their heads and the casting of their stone." The Imām said, "O´ ‘Abd al-Karīm you are still presumptuous and misguided." He was about to start a discussion when the Imām (p.b.u.h.), removing his covering sheet from his hand, cut him short saying, "No argument during the pilgrimage ceremonies. If the case is as you say, although it is not so, then we both (the believers and the atheists) have secured salvation. On the contrary, if the case is as

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we say, and undoubtedly it is so as we say, then we (the believers) have secured salvation and you (the atheists) are doomed." Then ‘Abd al-Karīm advanced towards his associates and said, "I feel some pain in my heart. Take me back." His associates took him back where he died. May Allāh not be merciful to him.

216–4. Muḥammad ibn Ja‘far al-Asadī narrated to me (–) Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl al-Barmakī ar-Rāzī (–) al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Burd ad-Dīnawarī (–) Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī (–) Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Khurāsānī, the personal servant of ar-Riḍā (p.b.u.h.) as saying:

"An atheist entered the court of Abu 'l-Ḥasan (ar-Riḍā, p.b.u.h.) when the Imām was in audience with a group of people. Abu 'l-Ḥasan (p.b.u.h.) addressed the atheist, 'O´ man, have you realized that if the truth is as you people say, although it is not so, then both of us are equal in advantage? Our praying, our fasting, our paying the poor-tax and our belief (in Allāh, His Messenger and the life hereafter) will bring us no harm at all.' At this the man kept silent. Then Abu 'l-Ḥasan (p.b.u.h.) said, 'If the truth is as we say, and undoubtedly it is as we say, then you would have perished and we are saved' The man replied, 'May Allāh be merciful to

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you! Explain to me how Allāh is, and where He is.' The Imām replied, 'Woe unto you! You have gone astray. Space itself is Allāh’s creation, hence He cannot be (confined) in it. He gave modality to modal existence, while He was without modality. He cannot be known in terms of modality and space. He cannot be perceived through the senses, nor can He specified by comparison with any thing.'

"The man said, 'Since He cannot be perceived through any of our senses, then He is nothing.' Abu 'l-Ḥasan (p.b.u.h.) replied, 'Woe unto you; when you failed to know Him through your senses you refused to accept His Lordship. And when we fail to know Him through our senses then we stand (more) convinced that He is our Lord and He is unlike other things.'

"The man inquired, 'Tell me from when He has existed.' Abu 'l-Ḥasan (p.b.u.h.) replied, 'Tell me when He was not, then I will tell you from when He has existed.' The man inquired, 'What is the evidence for Him?' Abu 'l-Ḥasan (p.b.u.h.) replied, 'When I observe my body and I find in it nothing in excess or lacking, either in length or in breath, I observe its repelling of the undesirable in its pulling of the beneficial, I thereupon realize that there is some One Who has created this body. I acknowledge this when I observe the planets revolving by His might, the formation of

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the clouds, the blowing of the winds, the floating of the sun, the moon and the stars. In addition to these I came to know, by observing other signs, which are astonishing and self-evident, that there is One Who has ordained and originated them all.'"

217–5. ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm (–) Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Khaffāf or (–) his (‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm’s) father (–) Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq as saying:

" ‘Abdullāh ad-Dayaṣānī (an atheist) asked Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam (d. 190/805, the scholar and disciple of Imām Abū ‘Abdillāh, p.b.u. h.), saying, 'Have you any Lord?' Hishām replied, 'Yes.’ The atheist further inquired, 'Is He sovereign over every thing?' Hishām replied, 'Certainly, Allāh is All-mighty and Omnipotent.' The atheist asked, 'Has He (Allāh) the power to put the whole world in an egg-shell without increasing the size of the egg-shell or reducing the size of the world as a whole?' Hishām said, 'Give me some time to ponder (over the querry).' The atheist replied, 'I allow you one full year.' Then the atheist left Hishām. Hishām soon started his journey towards Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.). He sought permission to (see) the Imām and he was admitted in to the Imām’s presence. Hishām said, 'O´ son of the Prophet! ‘Abdullāh ad-Dayaṣānī came to see me with a problem which I cannot resolve except through Allāh’s help and with you.' Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) inquired, 'What did he ask you?' Hishām

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said, 'He asked me such-and-such.' Thereupon, Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) inquired, 'O´ Hishām! how many senses do you have?' Hishām replied, 'Five.' The Imām inquired, 'Which of them is the smallest?' He replied, 'The pupil of the eye.' The Imām inquired, 'What is the size of the pupil of your eye?' Hishm replied. 'It is like a cereal grain or even smaller.' The Imām addressed Hishām saying, 'O´ Hishām! look in front of you and look above and then say what you see.' Hishām replied, 'I see the heavens, the earth, houses, roofs, plains, mountains and rivers.' Abū ‘Abdillāh addressed him thus: 'Verily, He who has the power to put all that you see into the pupil of an eye which is like a cereal grain or even smaller has the power to put the whole world into an egg-shell without decreasing the size of the world and without enlarging the size of the egg-shell.' Hearing this, Hishām fell at (the feet of) the Imām and then kissed his hands, head and the feet and said, 'O´son of the Prophet! this is sufficient for me.' Then he returned to his house. Next day ad-Dayaṣānī came to see him and touched Hishām by saying, 'O´ Hishām ! I have come only to pay my respects to you, and not to demand an answer to my question.' Thereupon, Hishām said to him, 'Even if you have come to demand the answer of your question, it is here.' ad-Dayaṣānī came out from Hishām’s house and straight away made

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for the door of Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b. u.h.). He asked permission to see the Imām which was granted to him. When he sat down before the Imām he addressed the Imām saying, 'O´ Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad! guide me towards the One I worship (Allāh): Abū ‘Abdillāh asked him, 'What is your name?' Hearing this, he came out from the house of the Imām without telling his name. At this, his followers asked why he had not told his name to the Imām. He replied, 'If I had told him my name ‘Abdullāh (meaning slave of Allāh), he would have asked me, 'Who is that (Allāh) whose slave you are.' At this, his followers advised him to return to the Imām and appeal to him, 'Guide me towards the One I worship and do not ask me my name.' The atheist returned to the Imām and appealed, 'O´ Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad! guide me towards my Lord and do not ask my name.' Thereupon, Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) said to him, 'Take your seat.' At that time one of his small boys was playing with an egg in his hand. The Imām called upon the boy, 'O´ boy, give me the egg.' The boy handed over the egg to the Imām. Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.), addressed the atheist saying, 'O´ ad-Dayaṣānī! this is a fort with its doors closed. It is covered with a thick layer, below the thick layer there is a thin layer. Below the thin layer there is some liquid gold and some molten silver. This liquid gold does not mix with the molten silver, nor does the molten silver mix with the liquid gold (in

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spite of their both being fluid). The egg stays as it is. Nothing precious comes out of it to indicate how rich is the inside, and nothing harmful can enter in it to indicate how harmful it is. No one can tell it the egg has been created to produce the male or the female. When it cracks, it presents creatures of bright colouration like peacocks. Do you not see any director to direct all this?'" The narrator says, "ad-Dayaṣānī bowed his head in deep thought and then said, 'I witness, verily, there is no god except Allāh, the One. There is no partner for Him and verily Muḥammad is His slave and His messenger. And you are the Imām – the divinely appointed guide, and Allāh's evidence for His creatures. And I retract my steps from my previous path.'"

218–6. ʻAlī ibn Ibrāhīm (–) his father (–) ʻAbbās ibn ʻAmro al-Fuqaymī (–) Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam in respect of the talk of the *zindīq* (i.e., one who believes in the doctrine of Dualism), who had come (to debate with) Abū ʻAbdillāh (p.b.u.h.). During his talk Abū ʻAbdillāh (p.b.u.h.) said:

"Your contention is that there can exist two eternal beings. (In that case there can only be three alternatives.) Either both of them must be eternally powerful, or both of them must be weak, or one of them must be

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powerful and the other weak. If both of them were eternally powerful, then why would each one of them not try to subjugate and repel his rival so that he may be the sole sovereign (over the whole universe)? If you think that one of them is strong and the other is weak, then what we say is proved that the eternal is the One, because of the patent helplessness of the other. If you (again) say that they (eternal beings) can be two, then again there can only be the possible alternatives that both of them will either agree or disagree with each other in all respects. We see a perfect design in this creation (of the universe) and the heavenly bodies floating (according to a single plan) and the direction (of the whole universe) is homogeneous, and that the night, the day, the sun, the moon operate with precision. The very plan, harmony and coordination of these affairs prove that they are all working under the orders of one organizer. What is more, if you point to two gods, you are constrained to suppose a gap between them in order to rectify this duality; then this gap will be a third eternal god with those two (because this gap must be of the same kind); and three gods will be forced upon you. And if you point to three gods, you are constrained by the same reasoning as was given in the case of two gods and you will have to suppose two gaps among them and there will be five gods. Likewise it proceeds till there is no limit to the multiplicity of gods."

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Hishām says, "One of the queries of the *zindīq* was, 'What is the proof of the existence of one God? Abū ʻAbdillāh (p.b.u.h.) replied, 'The existence of deeds themselves points to the existence of the doer who is responsible for those deeds of creation. Do not you see that if you look at a strong building already built, you will know that there must be a builder for the building, although you may not have seen him.' The man further inquired, 'What exactly is He?' The Imām replied, 'He is something quite unlike all other things. I mean to say that God is something (already) proved and that He is something that is a reality by Himself, except that He has no body, no shape and is totally imperceptible by sight or touch and unseekable through the five senses. Notions and imaginnings cannot reach Him and the passage of time has no effect upon Him and cannot bring any change in Him.'"

219–7. Muḥammad ibn Yaʻqūb says, "A group of our associates narrated to me (–) Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Barqī (–) his father (–) ʻAlī ibn Nuʻmān (–) Ibn Muskan (–) Dāwūd ibn Farqad (–) Abū Saʻīd az-Zuhrī (–) Abī Jaʻfar (p.b.u.h.) as saying:

"'The creatures under the effective control of their Lord, the Lord's absolute sovereignty, the Lord's manifest splendour, the Lord's dazzling

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effulgence, the Lord's truthful arguments, the Lord's giving speech to His creatures' tongues, all that has been sent through the divine messengers and all that has been revealed to mankind; all this is sufficient proof of the Lord (of the Universe).'"

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